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In the four major speeches presented the question under consideration was basically how can the school curriculum best be developed to enable the individual to realize his potential as an independent entity in a mass society. The first speech, "Individuality, Society, and Education" considers this problem from a philosophical base. In the second, "American Society in the 1980's: Trends, Themes, and Issues," the sociological aspects are discussed. The last two speeches, "The Curriculum in Confrontation with Tomorrow" and "Issues in Secondary Education for the Future," focuses on implications for elementary and secondary curriculum design and for teacher education of the problem of the individual in our society. (Author/KP)

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CURRICULUM IMPERATIVE: SURVIVAL OF SELF IN SOCIETY

ROBERT H. BECK
PAUL MEADOWS
HAROLD G. SHANE
J. GALEN SAYLOR

Speeches delivered at the
J. Galen Saylor Conference
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CONTENTS

Preface 1

Individuality, Society and Education, Dr. Robert Beck 3

Footnotes 20

American Society in the 1980's: Themes, Issues and Trends;
By Dr. Paul Meadows 23

The Curriculum in Confrontation With Tomorrow,
Dr. Harold G. Shane 33

Issues in Secondary Education For The Future,
By Galen Saylor, Chairman 47

Footnotes 74

PREFACE

This monograph presents the texts of the four major speeches delivered at the "J. Galen Saylor Conference on Secondary Education." This conference, which was sponsored by the Department of Secondary Education, the Teachers College, and the Summer Sessions Office of the University of Nebraska, was held on June 17 and 18, 1968, at the Nebraska Center for Continuing Education.

This conference was held on the occasion of the retirement of Dr. J. Galen Saylor from the position of Chairman of the Department of Secondary Education at the University of Nebraska. The conference was designed as a tribute to Dr. Saylor for his outstanding professional and personal contributions to the field of secondary education.

Dr. Saylor's professional contributions are evident from the many honors he has received. Among the most notable of these have been serving as president of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (1965-66), being granted a Fulbright Professorship for work in Finland (1962-63), and being named as a recipient of the Distinguished Teaching Award at the University of Nebraska (1967). He is perhaps best known nationally for his writings, especially two books written in collaboration with Dr. William Alexander, *Modern Secondary Education* and *Curriculum Planning for Modern Schools.* His personal contributions to education were made obvious at the conference by the many colleagues who either attended the conference or who wrote letters to Dr. Saylor on this occasion and also by the tributes paid to him by the participants in the conference.

The theme for the conference, "Curriculum Imperative: Survival of Self in Society," was selected both for its close tie to the interests and work of Dr. Saylor and for its great importance in the world of today. The question under consideration was basically how can the school curriculum be developed to best enable the individual to realize his potential as an independent entity in a mass society. Each of the four speeches reported in this monograph dealt directly with this problem and each from a different direction. Dr. Robert Beck in "Individuality, Society and Education" considered this problem from a philosophical base. In "American Society in the 1980's: Trends, Themes, and Issues," Dr. Paul Meadows emphasized the sociological aspects of the question under discussion. Dr. Harold Shane in "The Curriculum in Confrontation with Tomorrow" and Dr. Saylor in "Issues in Secondary Education for the Future" focused on implications for elementary (Shane) and secondary (Saylor) curriculum design and for teacher education of the problem of the individual in our society. These four speeches thus represent a four-pronged consideration of the topic "Curriculum Imperative: Survival of Self in Society."

In addition to the four major talks delivered at this conference, two panel discussions were held to consider further implications of the ideas raised by these speakers. Although these discussions are not included in this monograph, they enriched the conference greatly. Members of these panels were Erwin Goldenstein, Chairman of the Department of History and Philosophy at the University; Robert Frogge, Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; Dwight Adams, Professor of English at Kearney State College; Randall Anderson, Professor of Social Sciences at Kansas State Teachers College (Emporia); Joe Hanna, Curriculum Director (now assistant superintendent) of the Omaha, Nebraska, Public Schools; Richard Hart, Chairman of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; George Bailey, Superintendent of the Bellevue, Nebraska, Public Schools (now Superintendent at Cheyenne, Wyoming); and William Bogar, Principal of Lincoln High School, Lincoln, Nebraska.

INDIVIDUALITY, SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

Dr. Robert H. Beck
Chairman, Department of History and Philosophy of Education
University of Minnesota

Introduction. This essay is about the part education might play in the harmonization of individual and society. The word harmonization is stressed in order to highlight that I do not assume individuality antithetical to living in a society.

Among the assumptions made in this essay one is primary. It is assumed that individuals in the culture and sub-cultures of this nation are interdependent, need affection from certain people, as their parents, need respect from all who have lasting and significant relations with them, as teachers and employers, and flourish only in a society marked by equality of opportunity, care for others, and cooperativeness required by the complexity of this world.

This assumption will be illustrated with the beginning of life when child and parent represent an interdependent relationship of intimates. It will end with a type of association that includes the utter stranger.

Interdependence is the one factor that will be a constant. The parent and child are interdependent, for example. Then, too, the parents depend upon one another. Cooperativeness, mutual concern for preserving equality of opportunity, and adequate services from governmental or private sources all demonstrate how fundamental is interdependence. Issues come before the voters of this country with world-wide ramifications.

If this postulate can be judged convincing, it makes no sense to expect optional conditions for individuality in a society that is really anti-individualistic.

This is the basic premise of our argument.

A secondary assumption holds that it is well to introduce students to those unlike them in dialect, in social class, ethnic, religious, or other ways. This last is put forward in the belief that association with "unlike others" will tend to lessen the importance of such obvious differences as dialect or skin color and less obvious differences in social class backgrounds.

The plan. The plan of this essay is first to tour areas. The first will be psychological literature. The second will be reflections on creativity and conformity. The third will be a vision of man as given by the New Imagists in painting and sculpture, although the same point can be made with illustrations drawn from the theatre—for example the eleven short plays of "Collision Course" which played in New York during the Spring of 1968. The fourth is the suppressive effect that big bureaucracy can have.

Conformity. One of the first ideas with which to wrestle is that of conformity and independence. To paraphrase the remark about the fat man, all the world loves a non-conformist, so long as he is an optimist and a booster, rather than a cynic and a boat-rocker.

This bedraggled phrasing should be altered for the well-tutored who have read such modern classics of American Literature as *Spoon River Anthology* and *Main Street.* These readers have gone on to contemporary existentialist literature and favor integrity, knowing who one is, and taking a stand despite consequences.

Assume that the literature leads, sets an example and a standard. Is the paradigm of the rugged individual or of the loner?

ISSUES RAISED BY PSYCHOLOGISTS

All men are dependent and may become interdependent.[1] Human beings are dependent on other human beings. As evidence, there is the long period of utter infantile dependence.

Admittedly there are reports of feral children, the wolf child of someplace-or-other is a case in point. But there are those who feel these accounts to be hearsay. What has been observed is the high degree of dependence human beings show and the growing interdependence of mankind which makes education in communication and cooperation minimal essentials. However, men need not be cooperative. Conformity and obedience have been adaptations perhaps even more often than cooperation.

The term "interdependence" should have been qualified. In fact, more is assumed than the simple fact that human beings are interdependent within complex societies, and among the societies, that make up the nations. The more that is assumed is that men have a chance to educate themselves in willing acceptance of interdependence. Perhaps the type of human being of whom we are thinking is the "rational-altruistic" type described in the well-known *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* which appeared a few years ago.[2]

This essay will not traffic with studies of slavery or blind obedience or phenomena Fromm described in his *Escape from Freedom.*[3]

Conformity is a different matter. After all, it is conformity, not slavery, which is manifest in the culture of the United States or, at any rate, in the literature about that culture.

A psychologist looks at conformity. In a brief excursion into the literature of psychology I should like to recall one of Asch's studies of conformity. Asch's research was multiple; I chose only to report the publication which bore the title, "Studies of Independence and Conformity: 1. A Minority of One Against an Unanimous Majority."[4]

Asch showed that if a majority held an opinion, it was very probable that a dissenter would come to accept the majority opinion. Even in the area of reports on sense data Asch demonstrated that "seeing is believing" was not necessarily so.

We must set aside our appreciation of how sense reports can mislead. The Hanover Eye Institute has furnished many such reports.[5]

For sake of concentrating on the issue of conformity, we might put to one side another attraction, namely the morality of the situation.

Asch's study has been replicated and any number of studies on subtle, social coercion have been prompted by it. To generalize in a very superficial way necessary for saving time, these studies show that most individuals give in to group opinion. There is a curve which describes the point in time when individuals conform. Those who hold out longer are described as more independent. If several lines were projected on a movie screen and one line was "clearly" the short one, independence might be rated as a function of how long one called short is perceived as short despite the contrary assertions of one's fellows, who had been coached to lie and to attempt to persuade the hold-out.

A second look at independence. At first glance sympathy is all for the anguished independent. The reader probably regrets only that rugged individualism is not more rugged. There are not many dots two standard deviations above the mean.

Perhaps the term deviation is suggestive. One need not imply that deviation is best understood as psychotic deviation rather than as a measure of distance from a central tendency, the modal point in a curve or the modish in the value profile of a culture. But suppose one does look into what everyone will agree to be the psychotic deviation of a patient in a mental ward who hallucinates.

I believe that it is justifiable to say upon reflection on the Asch experiment: "Though it would be in error to belittle the import of experiments on group coercion, one might wonder about a man who did not yield when his sensory experience tallied not at all with that unanimously reported by his colleagues. Presumably he lacks instrumentation with which to establish a 'reading' on reality."[6]

Consider the issue of intersubjective testability, which is no more than the usual faith we put in an idea when it has been tested by our peers. Of course, intersubjective testability yields no certainty but the matter of reconfirmation or disconformation is out in the open.

Perhaps the better illustration to use would be that of the hallucinating patient in a psychiatric ward. "What does one respond to the man who says, 'Listen to the voices of those persecuting me!' The listeners are attentive but hear no voices. Is it the setting of the mental ward that entitles me to say, 'He's hallucinating; there are no voices'."[7]

As Jackson and Saltzstein put the matter just a decade ago, agreement with the majority in any group may have little to do with harmful conformity. To quote them: "Forces to conform which are created by a person's need for social reality have their source in his desire to make an appropriate rather than an inappropriate response, or to perceive the world accurately rather than inaccurately."[8]

Let us ask ourselves one last question. Would it be well to have people desirous of *not* associating with others?

We can agree with David Riesman[9] or with the conclusion of William H. Whyte's *The Organization Man* that "it is necessary to preserve privacy, unencumbered time, even at the cost of refusing to participate in worthy causes."[10]

Is it not possible to agree to pity the loneliness, the emptiness, the insecurity that leads to social climbing, to work for membership in groups simply because they have social status?

A second look at desire for membership. I should like to propose that even a pitiable desire to be "in" and accepted, rather than be "out" and rejected need not be always undesirable.

Clearly there are many occasions for regret, if one wishes people to be strong enough not to feel a need to "escape from freedom," to use the phrase coined by Eric Fromm.

I would suggest that what is desirable is not absence of the need to belong. I think such a state unnatural. What is hoped for, I suppose, is the absence of a need to join a group whose objective is not one with which the individual agrees or identifies.

To continue quoting: "What is to be guarded against is such emptiness of being as makes belonging to a group indispensable and, therefore, threat of exclusion insufferable. Zander,[11] the experimental work of Dittes and Kelley,[12] all lead to the conclusion that people tend to conform to the consensus of any group, membership in which is highly desirable to them."[13]

Apparently this is not a phenomenon to be found isolated in the United States. Conformity to a value of the majority is cross-cultural in an international way. "The research of Schacter, Nuttin and their associates[14] indicates that deviance from the consensus of a group is not welcome even in those countries of Western Europe priding themselves on permitting non-conformity."[15]

Perhaps one would agree that all these studies "should alert educators to learning ways of strengthening the hand of potentially independent young people, firming their independence without loss in ability to be flexible, to be objective, to listen with understanding and, when called for, with compassion to alternative viewpoints."[16]

It would not be difficult to concur. Doubtless it would be more difficult to list means appropriate to the realization of such ends as flexibility and compassion while one maintains independence.

The propriety of belonging. It is the responsibility of this paper to make a stab at the latter. At this moment all that must be granted is that not all desire to belong, to be "in," to be loved or agreed with is a sign of weakness or over-dependence.

The point being made is analagous to one stated earlier with regard to the coercion studies of Asch. "Intersubjective testability" or confirmation by the findings of others, were mentioned. Being modish or "in" is not altogether dissimilar.

A cue is given by the appearance of certain aspects of conformity during adolescence in the United States.

Apart from the encouragement that may be given adolescent proneness to transient styles by a variety of hucksters, there is the quality in adolescence of groping for norms to use in judging what is true, good, and beautiful.

Assuming that adolescence is a state of uncertainty in these matters, what is unnatural in seeking the reassurance of one's fellows.?

THE NEED FOR OTHERS BALANCED BY TOLERANCE OF DIVERGENCE

Adequate provision for individuality requires provision for both interdependence and mutuality. Mutuality is being defined as that degree of tolerance as makes possible acceptance of others even though they be outspoken critics or in some other way divergent in their opinion.

That mutuality is difficult for a civilization to attain is apparent from reviewing what has happened to the least taxing form of divergence, creativity.

But to focus on creativity is to be ahead of the story. Failure in the areas of expectation and motivation probably are more widespread.

Expectation and motivation. The simplest example of the mutuality that is characteristic of all men is the relation of A and B when it can be assumed that the relationship is reasonably uncomplicated.

The customary description of this diadic relationship is that there is dependence on both sides. A needs B and B needs A. That is all well and good so far as it goes. But something is very much missing if that is the end of it. Expectation is missing and so is motivation.

We have said that A can be overly dependent on B, which is true. At the same time A can expect too much or too little of B. Let us assume that A and B have mutual needs so that both are motivated to fulfill the expectations of the other.* Let us further assume that

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*This statement is not complicated with differentiation of expectation in terms of roles. Role expectation, fulfillment are not contradictory to our analysis. For example, one can look into the familial interrelations of man—father-husband, wife-mother-woman, oldest child, etc., with the same thought of mutuality and interdependence. It is only the analysis and its report that must be complicated.

A is the parent or teacher of B. If A expects more of B than B can deliver, A may be disappointed and B also. B's disappointment, of course, is different from A's. B may be disappointed because he thinks that he has not done what A has made it known proper in his eyes. B's disappointment is with himself. Rarely does B say that A's expectations were unrealistic.

The B's, the students, of this world tend to accept the expectations of others, even when the "other" is as vague as "society." It is this expectation that is at work when a school counselor says that a boy or girl has a set of expectations that outrun any achievement that he or she is likely to make.

In the same way the B's of the world take on themselves what they have been explicitly given or have inferred to be the expectation of their teachers or parents. Who has failed to hear: "I'm not very bright" or, more rarely, "I find this or that a bore." The latter may be the result of having been told that he was very clever indeed.

Using abilities. Some six years ago a conference was held in Kungälv, Sweden, on the subject, *Ability and Educational Opportunity.*[17] The conference capped a good deal of soul-searching by social scientists on both sides of the Atlantic. What the conference showed was that Western Europe, Great Britain included, was losing a great deal of ability because of the social class discrimination against the lower class youth, or because one happened to live in a rural area where there was less specialized and advanced education than in the cities.

Of course the reflection applies as much to the United States. Moreover, the net could have been more widely flung so that it included racial segregation or restricted educational opportunity because of being born female.

The conferees did agree that the term "ability" was too restricted. Ability tends for school people to be equated with academic ability whose potentiality is measured by tests of IQ and whose fulfillment can be read in the marks that teachers give.

Obviously this sort of ability must be thought but one type of ability.

What social class discrimination illustrates. Nevertheless, what social class discrimination illuminates is so worth remembering that everything else is being sacrificed.

By itself the simple phrase "social class" misses. Social class membership and the attitude to that membership does not miss.

Membership shows that it is the identification of a member, his self-identification and the identification of him by others in other social classes, which has to be observed.

There is overwhelming evidence that members of the lowest social classes share the feeling of hopelessness that we know also to be true of those in minority groups. The latter also may be frustrated and embittered because of the denial of rights to the individual development to which Americans have pledged allegiance.

This feeling of hopelessness and that of frustration and bitterness join in being related to our assumption that people may be articulated most inexpertly, indeed be an unheard cry. In a society whose culture includes the well-known "work ethic," the message is apt to be garbled. Here are people who are "underproductive" and whom hopelessness keeps from the motivation that is part of accepting the sacrifices of the long years of training needed for productivity in modern art and technology.

Attitudes towards creativity. Abilities are lost to society and people lose self-confidence when they are born into the lowest social class and/or minority groups of a society which subscribes to a belief in equality of opportunity. Our concern is with both individual and society. Riding a notion that dependency is mutual, both individual and society lose when any group of individuals loses. That is to say, that if A is penalized because of his belonging to some group, then society loses.

Membership in the group of the creative. Societies that represent the gifted, as defined by very high intelligence quotients, have pointed to the fact that schools failing to adapt to these pupils are failing to accept individuation. These same spokesmen for the gifted have not been laggards in pointing out that hesitation in accommodation to the gifted is a strange way to act after pledging allegiance to the ideal of self-realization for all.

Those sponsoring the interests of special education for the severely handicapped, physically, emotionally, or culturally, point to the same welching on educational opportunity. There is a strong case to be made for the social gain that would come from helping the culturally deprived or partially sighted and their fellows with other handicaps. Self-esteem, the motivation of pupils for which educators hope, and other social benefits, might stem from this effort.

Not to deny any of this, there is an attitude, one towards the divergent, the unpopular way, which very much relates to the twofold issue of the tie of individual and society and the association of that relationship and education.

BLOCKS TO CREATIVITY

There are indications that not a few educators in the United States are insufficiently interested in fostering the individuality of their students. The cultural anthropologist, Dorothy Lee, reviewing manuals for courses in home economics, felt that she uncovered anti-individualistic tendencies in passages urging students to think on the question: "How can I be popular with others?"[18] Lee's colleague in anthropology, Cora DuBois, finds in the dominant value profile of American culture, of which education is a part, that "self-cultivation in America has as its goal less the achievement of uniqueness and more the achievement of similarity."[19]

When Dorothy Lee visited a school attended by her own children she was dismayed by the lack of opportunity for individuality. Murals drawn by the class were group projects in which no single child was permitted to draw without a textbook model which furnished example to the class as a whole. Lee's reaction may stand as a warning. "I saw here not nourishment and enrichment, but improverishment and diminution of the self." It was the emphasis upon group work that held her attention. "The group," she continued, "here demanded the sacrifice of the very generative force of the self, the vitality, the vagary, the spontaneity. It was superimposed upon the self as an external standard, and could be attained only through a Procrustean conformity. In these schools the children were not people; not individual persons with integrity peculiar to each. Their being did not call forth respect. What was demanded of them was to form a class based on undeviating similarity; and to achieve this, the striving of the self had to be throttled. Only through destruction of the self could the group thrive."[20]

The statement is powerful. Nor is it weakened by the unconvincing reports Lee gives of the Hopi or other peoples she finds respectful of personality. Men whose every act, as she describes the tribal life of the Hopi, is governed by custom, by the law of the gods, may be free from command of his fellows, but he is not free. It would be mischievous to argue Lee's cross-cultural comparisons; they are insubstantial, but what she would wish of our schools *is* substantial. One recalls Eric Fromm's sage reminder that while much of the Bill of Rights seemed secure, ". . . Modern man is in a position where much of what 'he' thinks and says are the things *to* think . . ."[21] (author's italics) If this be so, creativity is endangered.

"Creative" recently has been rescued from disfavor. Sharing in the cold war as part of the shield against Russian educational and technical advance, even historians are apt to forget that for twenty years, "creative" has been a bad word, associated with progressive education and the phrase "creative self-expression." To the critics of life adjustment, creativity meant anti-intellectuality, loss of standards, and disdain of academic mastery, even of the three R's. Now creativity, creative activity, again is recognized and, though it is the creative scientist that is talked about, the creative *individual* is coming into his own once again.

Educators, had they taken the progressives a bit more seriously, now would not be caught out as so inadequate in permitting, which is less than promoting, individualism.

The term "creativity" was not employed in the last sentence to imply that individualism and creativity have a great deal in common. Clearly, not every man who tries to think for himself, to be himself, will be intellectually or esthetically capable or creative. The association of the two words hints that individuality is a characteristic of creative people.[22]

It is natural that the schools shall not have been doing well with creativity. They have been under continuing, mounting pressure to emphasize cognitive skills: the ability to remember, to solve problems conventionally, and otherwise to be a "lesson learner." It is disheartening to be compelled to realize that even without these pressures to raise academic standards, teachers and students alike are unfriendly to the creative student.

The creative student invites dislike, far more than does his high I.Q. colleague. As Torrance's studies show, the high I.Q. students are likely to be well-mannered, cooperative, and respectful. The creative student may be equally so, but he is also likely to be sloppy, undisciplined, uncooperative, despising team spirit and class and athletic activities. He is more likely to have these attributes than is the student of high I.Q.[23] When teachers were queried for reaction by students already selected for high I.Q.'s and others for high levels of creativity, Roe found that teachers ". . . showed a strong preference for the high I.Q. groups, in spite of the equally high scholastic performance in the high creative groups." It is easy to understand why, Roe continues. "The high I.Q. groups are much more amenable persons; they believe what they are told; they do not raise difficult questions; they are 'well-behaved' and more thoughtful of others; they do not have odd ideas or disrupting humor. The more creative children have a reputation for having wild or silly ideas; they are very likely to have little consideration for the group and little identification with it, and often resist leadership attempts. This does not endear them to their classmates either. They can be quite difficult, even objectionable, and to a considerable extent they may bring on themselves the negative sanctions so often imposed on them. Much of their behavior may be motivated by the overriding necessity to maintain their own independence of judgment and this can lead to forms of behavior that are objectionable to others."[24]

Is there the least justification for thoughtful, self-conscious educators to leave creative students so unsupported that these students feel impelled to protect their independence of judgment, at times after a fashion that invites unpleasant sanction from their classmates?

New Images of Man: an Artist's View

Painters and sculptors. Peter Selz wrote, and New York's Museum of Modern Art published (1959), *New Images of Man.* What the paintings and sculptures have offered by way of commentary on contemporary man shows him brutalized by society but often crying out unheard as a voice in the wilderness.

There is a disconcerting parallel between this editorializing and what has been implied by the attitudes toward creativity. A want of understanding and sympathy have been in both.

Painters and sculptors can hold the mirror to a man lonely and dragged down by his feeling of impotence and futility. These artists can move us to confront man's inhumanity to man.

If the assumption is correct that men have a mutuality of social need, it is unnatural to have human beings truly isolated or so estranged that they are strangers or, worst of all, assaulted by their fellows. And yet, these are the images of man.

"The eternal wounds of existence." The typical quality of the best-known Greek sculpture has been caught by calling its time "the heroic age." Men of ideal proportions were sculpted as demi-gods, larger than life in size.

To this humanism Nietzsche has posed another canon, a very different one, which saw modern man as wounded, not tranquil and powerful. Nietzsche wrote of these "eternal wounds of existence."

Selz introduced his book with the remark that: "The revelations and complexities of mid-twentieth century life have called forth a profound feeling of solitude and anxiety. . . . Like Kierkegaard, Heideger, Camus, these artists are aware of anguish and dread, of life in which man—precarious and vulnerable—confronts the precipice, is aware of dying as well as living."[25]

This is the spirit in which Selz's artists present man. The comment is, as Selz writes, comment on the "human situation, indeed the human predicament. . . . Existence . . . is of the greatest concern to them."[26]

One looks at such a sculpted portrayal of the person as Kenneth Armitage's *Seated Woman with Arms Raised* and sees a figure which Selz says looks like a praying mantis with a bloated body.[27] Armitage's figures are "large, helpless creatures, thwarted by inflexible limbs which keep them from assuming control of their environment. Like Gregor in Kafka's *Metamorphosis*, these human figures with their thin extremities are turned into helpless bugs . . ."[28]

The Irish-born painter, Francis Bacon, may be the best known of all who are mentioned here. Perhaps one recalls Bacon's famous *Man in a Blue Box*. The box is more like a cube of ice, icy blue and inside a man, indistinct in his representation, is clearly crying out but we know no one hears.

This famous commentary of Bacon's has won Selz's attention; and what he writes is worth reproducing for the educator concerned with individual and American society.

"Bacon's figures are both haunted and haunting," Selz writes. "Like surrealist figures, the sombre *Man in a Blue Box* . . . is taken out of time and out of place as he emits a cry which touches us at the base of the spine . . ."[29]

Isolation. The men in so many of Bacon's paintings are fearfully isolated, estranged from men and from all their environment; their's is a hostile world.

It is the same with Leonard Baskin, sculptor and maker of prints and drawings. His own disquisition on the purpose of art reveals how Baskin sums the human predicament. In his "Journal" Baskin had it that:

"The forging of works of art is one of man's remaining semblances to divinity. Man has been incapable of love, wanting in charity and desparing of hope. He has not molded a life of abundance and peace. . . . He has made of Eden a landscape of death. In this garden I dwell, and in limning the horror, the degradation and the filth, I hold the cracked mirror up to man."[30]

"The nerve of failure." What would be an appropriate response to what many see in Baskin's cracked mirror? Older people may be cynical and feel that nothing can be done in the face of brutality. When cynicism is the reaction, it may be explained as a function of aging. This explanation does not fit the alienated, disenchanted, and apathetic youth. But who can deny that there are many such young people despite student participation in politics and in the policies characteristic of some higher education.

This group does not show a willingness to "take arms against the sea of troubles and by opposing end them." Even if one is not optimistic about what the oncoming generation can do, educators must admit that schools are doing very little by way of giving youth the courage to try.

Perhaps commitment is lacking. The commitment alluded to would be involved in a community of common concern, concern for values such as equality of educational opportunity, supposedly pervading the culture of this country.

Have the schools done all that can be done to develop in each of us care for this value?

This is a fair question to ask about education, for only the public schools are agencies attended by most of our people.

No relief from this lugubrious image is to be found in the paintings of such men as Richard Diebenkorn,[31] Leon Golub,[32] Rico Lebrun,[33] or Jan Müller.[34] Because one can develop a complex of guilt about what has been done to the individual by American society and our culture, it is only proper to report that these images are on Western man, not *homo Americanus* only. This is a fact that will be made with greater force later in this paper when the rise of the modern bureau and bureaucracy, the observation of *anomie* and Marxian analysis, and the *gesellschaft* relationship, are traced to the Europeans who brought them to our attention in their books on European civilization, not that in the United States.

It is Western man in general who too often is as Golub's *Damaged Man,* tortured, human heads on a body which has been flattened into a skin. It is Western man whom Diebenkorn has painted as faceless and each in his own space. It is this utter isolation to which attention is drawn when seeing such a painting of Diebenkorn as *Man and Woman Seated,* an oil in which the figures are seated close to one another but without communication.[35]

OTHER ANTI-INDIVIDUALISTIC FORCES

Internalizing the culture. Acceptance of values typical of a culture or of a sub-culture allows one to get along but developing individuality is not one of the effects of "enculturation."

Enculturation has been brought into this analysis because no one seriously doubts that the process is both geographically universal and of ancestry as old as human culture.

Enculturation is ideal for our purposes because it clearly suppresses individuality and just as clearly has been changed. There would be no point in talking about the "generation gap," sorrowfully spoofed in Aristophanes' comedy, *The Clouds.* No one would lament the lament of the "good old days," or the "Golden Age" referred to by such a philosopher as Plato, were cultural values immutable.

Here is a clue. The idea is that there are patterns of values demanding conformity but in modern times it has become easier, far easier, to criticize the profile of culture than it was.

Strength or weakness? The very words *anomie* and rootlessness sound despair. Pity the anonymous man, the small, "nuclear family" without the care available in the "extended family" where hosts of relatives can rally around if there is need, a child to take in, a bereavement to soothe.

Who has not lamented the lot of Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted,* the immigrants who face acculturation because they have left one culture for another and have done more than cross a national boundary?[36]

Who has not thought of the deprivation of guiding sanction, of stability in mores or morals, so characteristic of such groups as the newly arrived Puerto Rican in New York, a man whose apartment living lacks the cultural order where the male elders were arbiters of what was good and what bad?

Who has not sorrowed at the life of the salesman, a tragedy epitomized by *The Death of a Salesman?*

Is all this really tragic, truly to be regretted as the loneliness and savaging of men by men, who are not members of a communion of those dedicated to common values, common ends?

If one responds affirmatively, what becomes of the rebuke of the small town implicit in Edgar Lee Masters' *Spoon River Anthology* (1914-15)? The *Spoon River Anthology* appeared more than half a century ago, actually in the early years of World War I. Masters published five years before the much better remembered *Main Street* (1920) of Sinclair Lewis. And there were other books that might be mentioned but will not be.[37] What counts for this recitation is the emphases that threads through them. Each spoke out for individuality and damned black the oppressiveness of the small town where the "hill-toppers" ruled the roost, where gossip went hand-in-hand with neighborliness, where other ways were disliked and, perhaps, feared as the provincial always has felt unfamiliar modes barbarian.

The slums, the ghettoes, urban blight and need for renewal, for adequate schools, clean air, recreation and the rest, need not hide the potential advantages of urbanization, not the least of which is the privacy of a small, nuclear family, the ability to choose one's friends, to enjoy the specialists in one's own trade and profession, to have museums, music, theatres and the rest available.

Socialization. Just now the decision is to continue with the threnody. The hope is that in contrast with this Jeremiad lamentation effective schooling will make the benefit of that education so attractive that its emotional and financial costs will seem well worthwhile.

The dirge might be pieced out by mentioning the numbing effect of socialization. By socialization is meant the complement of "enculturation." Socialization is the process wherein a child grows to accept the social order with its hierarchy of classes and its arrangements of institutions, agents and agencies.[38] If society and culture are put together, which is the way they come, it is easy to spot the modal personality types, distinctive patterns of language, and much that makes up living.

Is socialization oppressive? The matter of socialization may be subject to grave misinterpretation. That would be the case were socialization taken to be synonymous with unreflective acceptance of social arrangement. Socialization really has little to do with that sort of conformity.

How could it when socialization takes place during youth, perhaps only receiving final touches as late as adolescence? Certainly basic patterns of speech and acquisition of a native tongue, patterns of eating, even of expectation for advanced types of schooling, are shaped during the years that go before and end with graduation from high school.

To make further use of an idea that is a constant refrain in this portion of the essay, socialization in our society includes building into each of us desire that there shall be equality of educational opportunity. This value is a portion of our community commitment. This being so, have the schools been adequate to this segment of socialization?

The sad lot of the unsocialized. Socialization is not oppressive of individuality. The imperfectly socialized person is as handicapped as an applicant for office work in a type of establishment that demands skills totally lacking in the would-be employee. Having the skills would not be thought to hobble the applicant. Neither do the ingredients of socialization make for conformity or obedient conformity.

We postulate that the dominant issue is one of stopping short with socialization and enculturation. The student must be encouraged to think, to weigh and assess alternatives, to be imaginative. And the teacher, is he to be denied these same things? In responding to this rhetorical question, one has to face the fact of the professional bureaucracy.

Gesellschaft versus gemeinschaft. By the turn of the century the German sociologist, Tönnies, had labelled modern society as *gesellschaft* (impersonal) rather than *gemeinschaft* (close and personal).[39] Tönnies found modern urban society similar in its impersonality to a large corporation that may have a legal personality but not the personality of an owner, ownership being dispersed through the corporate stockholders.

It was this same impersonality that Weber wrote about in his justly well-remembered studies of bureaucracy[40] and the Protestant Ethic.[41] But the "rationalization of work" through specialization was made inevitable for management. The managerial revolution, Burnham called it,[42] when he wrote about the growing importance of the technologist-manager in comparison with the owner.

BUREAUCRATIZATION

Bureaucracy and paternalism. The sole reason for including bureaucracy in this essay is because individuality and society have been subject to a profound change with the transmutation occasioned by science. Work, whether on the farm or in business, industry, government or the military, has a place for technology in decision-making and in methods of production.

There is nothing regrettable about this trend rationalizing production. But not all bureaucratization is rational. Some seems to obstruct innovation, inventiveness, much that might be thought creative or imaginative.

Unhappily there is data that points to large-scale bureaucratization in education as this repressive sort.

The size of school districts. It is important to make schools and school systems small enough to reduce their bureaucracy but not so small that the services and curricular variation of schools of adequate size are unavailable.

The utility of size has become best known in the economist's phrase, economy of scale. But bigger need not mean better and certainly does not in the enterprise of education. In fact, Samuels has shown that large school districts have at least three times the chance of reducing autonomy of teachers than have smaller ones.[43] Quoting Samuels, "the larger and more complex an organization becomes, the greater is its need for control and coordination through impersonal rules and regulations. Large and complex school districts may be expected to be characterized by specialization, routinization, many rules, and a high degree of stratification of authority. With increased organizational bureaucratization the autonomy of subordinate members tends to decrease."[44]

Because businesses and other profit-making enterprises wish to maximize their income, bureaucratization has not been permitted to have as stifling an effect on initiative as may result from the reduction of a teacher's autonomy. This autonomy is important for it is the teacher and other educational specialists, as the school guidance workers, who are the technicians. His or her innovation is necessary. It is this that makes it worrisome to read Samuel's findings: "In response to the . . . statement, 'Teaching in your district is a good job for someone who likes to be "his own boss," ' 78 per cent of the teachers in the small district size category agreed with the statement while only 26 per cent of the teachers in the large district size category agreed.

When asked to respond to the . . . statement, 'I feel free to teach each subject in any way I think best,' 95 per cent of the teachers in the small district size category agreed while only 39 per cent of the teachers in the large district size category agreed.

To the statement, 'In your district teachers never have to follow procedures which conflict with their own judgment,' 44 per cent of the teachers from the small district size category responded that they agree and 17 per cent from the large district size category agreed. . . .

Eighty-six per cent of the teachers employed in the large district size category disagreed with the statement, 'I am allowed to teach only those subjects which are included in the course-of-study. . . .

Nearly four times the percentage of teachers in the small size category as in the large district size category responded 'rarely' or 'never' to the statement, 'I chose my teaching methods according to what the district or my principal prefers! . . . In contrast, 63 per cent of the teachers in the small district size category claim they always choose their teaching methods according to what they believe best for their students as compared to only 37 per cent of teachers in the large district size category."

Samuels concludes, "The findings indicate that teachers in larger districts experience greater restrictions than teachers employed by small districts."[45]

The size of school districts has been made a variable in this essay simply because large districts, as all large organizations, tend to develop bureaucracies, some of which, without the spur of competition, favor conformity or convergent thinking. This emphasis is the death of individuality and makes for a feeling of impotence if not frustration, for having to be loyal to party above principle, to have as few personal allegiances as possible and all the rest that go to make up insincerity.

Although Martin was taking to task the education establishment represented by teachers' colleges, educational departments, and professional associations,[46] he wrote a denunciation of all professional resistance to individuality, even when individuality was carried by divergent thinking, or even warm and negative criticism of educational practice. Martin castigated the "homogenized character of the practitioners—their uniform belief system . . . (and) uncommon loyalty to the pursuit of common goals."[47]

The relationship of subordinate and superordinate. It is time for a rather abstract statement of the ideal relationships of any subordinate and his superordinate in education. The subordinate may be a student, or a teacher, or a principal, or a superintendent employed by a Board of Education, or all of public, formal education and the publics of our communities, states, and nation, with the latter's international involvement.

Self-respect, individuality, imagination, critical or analytical thinking that permits the chips to fall where they will must be a stamp of many samples of education. An impressive number of examples are to be found of students and staff relating to one another in a way that can be said to be positive.

Conclusion. There are grounds for optimism. True, the optimism, is a guarded optimism rather than one of romantic optimism. It is not the less optimistic; and our first reason for optimism is an increase in caring.

Caring. There is precious little chance of winning against these pressures for conformity, for selfish exploitation of others, if we avoid the contest. Although our opinion is that reasonable optimism is justified, the literary heritage of the West holds Don Quixote just as surely as the story of David and Goliath.

And yet we hope and recall Pandora's box from which all evil spirits were released to plague men but one bright spirit remained to mankind; Hope was that spirit.

Lest hoping seem false, revealed as false hope in modern existentialist literature, was it not Sartre who wrote that "life begins at the other side of despair?"

As a guess one part of a more promising perspective will be a willingness to emulate the Samaritan, to recall a passage in Western literature.

A brother's keeper. A paper on the mediation of education in the matter of developing individuality and a sense of social responsibility would be very weak if it stopped short with the mention of ever more strenuous efforts to extend equality of educational opportunity to people disadvantaged by physical or emotional impairment, income, social class membership, race, color, creed or by living in rural areas remote from post-secondary schools. It would be inconclusive even to observe a growing willingness to use Federal funds for what might seem local problems in education.

The more adequate recitation includes remembering that a great deal is being done to see to it that Americans study abroad and that students from other lands study in the United States. Nor is the story only about people. There is a definite trend away from provincialism and towards cosmopolitanism.

Provincialism in education has the curriculum circumscribed by national history and the affairs of one's own country. Today there are more than just a few signs of cosmopolitanism. Look at the education of teachers, administrators and other educational specialists. There has been a steady increase in comparative studies.

The strength of study of modern foreign languages, world literature, and the place of world affairs in social studies tells the same story of cosmopolitanism in the schools.

The reason for this rather modest optimism is that this country enrolls a large population in post-secondary education. About one-quarter of the relevant age group continues formal education beyond high school—and what is studied more and more allows us to share in the "problems of men," whatever be man's income or race or religion or nation or place of birth. To put the matter most abstractly, we are growing in ability to communicate, thereby enlarging our communion, our commitment to the community of shared values.

It makes sense today to say that education preaches that we are our brother's keeper.

FOOTNOTES

1. Reynold A. Jensen. "Emotional and Personality Development." Robert H. Beck, ed., *The Three R's Plus.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1956.

2. D. R. Kratwohl, B. S. Bloom, and B. S. Mesia. *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* II: *Affective Domain.* Chicago: David M. Kay. 1964.

3. Eric Fromm. *Escape from Freedom.* New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc. 1941.

4. Solomon E. Asch. "Studies of Independence and Conformity: 1. A Minority of One Against an Unanimous Majority." *Psychological Monographs,* 20, V. 9, 1956.

5. Earl C. Kelley. *Education for What is Real.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1947.

6. Robert H. Beck. "Perception of Individualism in American Culture and Education." Presidential Address. Philosophy of Education Society. Proceedings. 1961.

7. *Loc. cit.*

8. Jay M. Jackson and Herbert D. Saltzstein. "The Effect of Person-Group Relationships on Conformity Processes." *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 57:17–24 (July, 1958).

9. David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Renel Denney. *The Lonely Crowd.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1953.

10. William H. Whyte, Sr. *The Organization Man.* New York: Simon and Schuster. 1956.

11. Alvin Zander. "Group Membership and Individual Security." *Human Relations,* 11:99–111 (No. 2, 1958).

12. James E. Dittes and Harold H. Kelley. "Effects of Different Conditions upon Conformity to Group Norms." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 13:100–107 (July, 1956).

13. Beck. "Perception . . ." p. 120.

14. Stanley Schacter, Josef Nuttin, and Associates. "Cross-cultural Experiments on Threat and Rejection." *Human Relations,* 7:403–439 (No. 4, 1954).

15. *Loc. cit.*

16. *Loc. cit.*

17. A. H. Halsey (ed.). *Ability and Educational Opportunity.* Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. 1961. Activities prompted by this conference and others congruent with the objectives of the Kungläv meetings are in *Social Objectives and Educational Planning.* Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Developments. 1967.

18. Dorothy Lee. "Discrepancies in the Teaching of American Culture." George D. Spindler (ed.), *Education and Anthropology.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1955. p. 173.

19. Cora Du Bois. "The Dominant Value Profile in American Culture." *American Anthropology,* Part I, 57:1233–34 (Dec., 1955).

20. Dorothy Lee. *Freedom and Culture.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1959. p. 18.

21. Fromm. *Escape* . . . p. 105.

22. Torrance, a leading student of creativity, has creativity include "sensitivity to problems," which he defines in terms of perceiving defenses, needs, deficiencies, the odd or unusual, and includes such abilities as fluency of ideas (the ability to think of divergent ideas, new concepts, new combinations of data); originality of interpretation (the ability to get away from the beaten track, break out of the mold, get away from the obvious and banal); ability to redefine (the ability to reconstruct a scientific phenomenon, a theorem, or a story; to see uses and applications other than the intended ones); ability to analyze (to examine things thoroughly so that

they may be reconstructed in proper order and relationship); the ability to synthesize (to put things back together in wholes, recreating new images, new combinations, and developing broader concepts); the ability to organize (to put things in order in the mind, to use facts and data toward the solution of the problems in context)."

See E. P. Torrance. "Conditions for Creativity" (Mimeographed). Minneapolis: Bureau of Educational Research, University of Minnesota. 1960: Ross Mooney. "Cultural Blocks and Creative Possibilities." *Educational Leadership*, 13:273-78 (Feb., 1956).

23. Torrance. "Conditions . . ." p. 7.

24. Anne Roe, *et al.* "The Creative Student in the Classroom." Unpublished paper. Harvard University Graduate School of Education. 1960, Kaoru Yamamota. *Creative Thinking Abilities and Peer Conformity in Fifth-Grade Children.* (Cooperative Research Project No. 2021.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University. 1965.

25. Peter Selz. *New Images of Man.* New York: The Museum of Modern Art. 1959. p. 11.

26. *Loc. cit*

27. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

28. *Loc. cit.*

29. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-9.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-82.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-101.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-6.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

36. It is an old story that of the "integration" of immigrants into American and other cultures. Eisenstadt wrote of the "absorption" of Jewish immigrants of various national and cultural backgrounds into Israel. (S. N. Eisenstadt. *The Absorption of Immigrants: A Comparative Study Based Mainly on the Jewish Community in Palestine and the State of Israel.* London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, Ltd., 1954.) Zubrzycki refers to the "accommodation" of the Polish refugees into Britain after World War II. (Jerzy Zubrzycki. *Polish Immigrants in Britain.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1956.) American sociologists and cultural anthropologists have spoken of the "assimilation" of at least the white-skinned immigrants into the United States. We know of such phrases as "melting pot," "cultural pluralism" and "conformity to the dominant national culture."

37. Books such as Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*, E. W. Howe's *The Anthology of Another Town*, Zona Gale's *Miss Lulu Bett*, Edith Wharton's *The Age of Innocence*, Mary Borden's *The Romantic Woman*, and Floyd Dell's *Moon-Calf.* All of the last six appeared in 1920 and each was in Masters' vein.

38. Don Martindale and Elio D. Monachesi. *Elements of Sociology.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1951.

39. Ferdinand Tönnies. *The Fundamental Concepts of Sociology.* (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft.) Charles P. Loomis (trans.). New York: American Book Company. 1940.

40. Max Weber. "The Essentials of Bureaucratic Organization: An Ideal-Type Construction." Reader in Bureaucracy. Robert K. Merton, Ailsa P. Gray, Barbara Hockey, and Hana C. Selvin (eds.). Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press. 1952.

41. Max Weber. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* Talcott Parsons (ed.). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930.

42. James Burnham. *The Managerial Revolution.* New York: The John Day Company, Inc. 1941.

43. Joanna Jenny Samuels. "Bureaucratization of School Districts and Teacher Autonomy." A paper presented at the American Educational Research Association.

1967. The Samuels study was done on California school districts enrolling elementary school age youngsters K–8. It reflects the urban rather than the rural scene. There were four categories of districts: largest, medium large, medium small, and small. The largest district had 83,000 elementary pupils in Average Daily Attendance (ADA). The medium large districts had 15,000 such pupils. The medium small districts average 6,500 pupils and the small averaged 2,800. In a state whose districts were largely rural, this categorization would not be applicable.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

46. Roscoe C. Martin. *Government and the Suburban School.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 1963.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THE 1980's: THEMES, ISSUES AND TRENDS

By Dr. Paul Meadows
Professor of Sociology, Maxwell Graduate School
Syracuse University[*]

I. On The Last Generation of Twentieth Century Americans

1. *The Pleasures of Prophecy*:—I must confess that this invitation "to take a trip," as the hippies say, into the future has been a very pleasant experience. I must also add that I am glad it was not an invitation into the distant future—say, the 21st century—for the simple reason that near-future forecasting is much easier and more immediately rewarding than "looking backwards" from the 21st century.

I am convinced that the next decade or so—in fact, the entire span of this last generation of twentieth century Americans—will not experience any really great differences in the character and style and problems of America. For we are, I believe, already in the midst of a major shift in the culture-structure of American society—a shift from a mature, production-centered industrialism to a *neo*-industrialism (not, you will notice, a *post*-industrialism!).

However, I do not regard this transition we are presently undergoing as a crisis, though it is fashionable these days to use such language. Have you ever looked at the word crisis? As usual, the dictionary is enlightening. Derived from *krinein*, meaning "to separate," the word has three levels of meaning, and not one of them describes our next decade or two:

1) a turning point, for better or worse;
2)
    a: a point of time when it is decided whether an affair or course of action shall proceed;
    b: immediate sequel to the culminating point (as of a period of prosperity):
3)
    a: an unstable state of affairs in which a decisive change is impending;
    b: a psychological or social condition characterized by unusual instability caused by excessive abuses.

Come to think of it: it was the school of the prophets, those ancient artists in prediction, who taught us to talk about an epoch or an era or a period of time as one of crisis. However, they also taught us something else—that prediction (which is to say, culture forecasting) is and in fact must be based on a comprehensive theory of history: their predictive judgments about the future were deeply rooted in what we would now call a metaphysics of time. Their artistry supplies us with a useful clue: culture forecasting, in order to avoid being nothing more than a pursuit of imagery in which wish outraces fact, must be grounded in a meta-theory of culture.

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[*] Dr. Meadows is now chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the State University of New York—Albany.

2. *Approach through Themes*:—A meta-theory of culture is not expressed in the curves and cycles and parameters of events. It is much more reliably disclosed in the dialectic of issues and counter-issues, of themes and counter-themes. A meta-theory of culture, in conformity with meta-theory of all kinds, is oriented to *the culture behind the culture*; it is oriented to what my Syracuse colleague, anthropologist Douglas Haring, calls the "deutero-culture": that is, the logic of the traits, the grammar and rhetoric of the forms, the themes of the patterns of the culture; it is oriented to what philosopher James Feibleman calls the "dominant ontology" of the culture, and what sociologist William Graham Sumner much earlier called the "ethos" of the society. The themes of the culture, which make sense of its issues and which underlie its trends, are literally the epitome of the society: a culture epitomizes itself, to use Leibnitz's much neglected concept, in its themes.

The bothersome thing about culture themes, however, lies in their multiplicity and variety; for they appear with almost "polymorphic perversity"—if I may appropriate Freud's famous phrase used by him to characterize the now near extinct "id"—throughout the entire society. "Themes," a word perpetrated on unwilling college freshmen to the point of hemorrhaging nausea, is essentially an expressive idea, as Webster reminds us: "a short, melodic series of notes constituting the subject of a musical composition or a phrase upon which variations are developed." The clue to culture themes is in their frequent and inventive variation in one context after another.

For me the dominant and expressive theme of American culture is what it was when I published my first book some twenty years ago here in Lincoln, *The Culture of Industrial Man*; and like the man hunting lions in Africa and finding nothing there but lions, so for me the characterizing theme of American society in rapid change, the culture behind the culture, the deutero-culture, the face behind the mask has been and continues to be *industrialism*—that is, the culture, as I said in that little (and little noticed) volume, which has been built around machine technology, machine technics, and machine techniques.

What I should like to do in this present brief and exciting venture in culture forecasting—American society in the 'eighties—is to start with machine technology as the dominant American meta-culture theme; and then, in the manner of composers of sonatas, I should like to set forth in three sections—literally, theme, variation and recapitulation (or, as musicians say, allegro, adagio and rondo)—the probable culture style of America in two decades from now.

II. AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THE 'EIGHTIES: TOWARD A NEO-INDUSTRIALISM

4. *A Technological Society: The Emerging New Industrialism*:— Like the fabled blind men and the elephant, observers of American society love to equate their favorite part of the American scene with the whole. So do I: the part is "the machine," which is the somewhat pedantic metaphor we employ to describe not only the mechanization of productive processes but also the institutional and ideological entailments which go with it. Ours is indisputably a society of industrial process. And here lies perhaps the least questionable prediction about the next two decades: that everything we know points to a fast-spreading mechanization of process design, which will be extended to secondary as well as primary materials.

In the immediate future we can easily predict the design of machines which are in fact "universal type processing centers" capable of handling an astonishing variety of work. This statement is part of a larger and very obvious prediction of ultra-modern industrial plants with completely integrated systems of equipment. For we know now that the automation of process design may be adapted to any process necessary for the production of desired goods. The automation continuum starts with manually powered tools; it proceeds through powered machines, automatic machines, and self-adjusting machines measuring their own results; and it ends with computer controlled machines which adjust programs. The technological shift to the latter pole of this automation continuum will, of course, not occur uniformly and certainly will not occur by 1980. As of now it is clear that the principal retardant to process mechanization is the availability of persons for designing, installing and controlling the new methods. But the elimination of this particular barrier will be a part of the coming change in which *total system design* will replace the present integration of a series of industrial processes which have been developed without regard to one another. Such is the impact of what Don Michaels has called "Cybernation: the Silent Conquest."

This technological transformation answers the question propounded by Lawrence Lessing in *Fortune* magazine in January of last year: "where will the new industries come from?" Lessing's comment is very much to the point of this discussion: "the propulsive force of this new age will be that chemical-electric-electronic-aero-space complex which now contains the country's technological elite . . . ." He goes on to describe how "this dramatic impact of accumulating technology" is "deliberately moving in by take-over or merger to remake older industries"—such as ground and sea transport, building and construction, printing and publishing. And in all cases there occurs a magnificent manifolding of output.

As a technological phenomenon, this new industrialism may be described in many ways. The most descriptive language, in my opinion, focusses on the shift from mechanization to cybernation. These two stages in the pattern of industrialization have many things in common: standardization, precision, specialization, volume, repetition, speed. But they differ in very significant ways. Mechanization has favored centralization, serialization, specialization, linearity, uniformity, addition, expansion, or as McLuhan's favorite summary puts it, "explosion." Cybernation, on the other hand, encourages integration, totality, coordination, interrelation, organicity, instantaneousness, or again in McLuhan's language, "implosion." Mechanization in the 19th and 20th centuries widened the scale, reduced the diversity, organized the individuality, hastened the speed, accelerated the homogenization, and fostered the expansion of human interaction. Cybernation seems to be moving in the direction of return to a sense of smaller scale, to vastly accelerated tempo and rate, to an accentuated sense of instantaneousness, to reduction of diversities to simplicities, to awareness of unity of field underlying varieties of types and forms. A revolution hardly begun, its main contours and thrust are probably still quite undisclosed. But this much is clear: it is a *new industrialism.*

5. *The Tragic Vision in the New Industrial Order*:—For many observers of the modern American scene this revolutionary technological situation is one of real tragedy. But in what sense is it tragic? That is the question! Certainly it is not tragic in Pascal's sense when he talked about things which "take us by the throat." Nor is it tragic in Aristotle's sense of tragedy as an imitation of action so designed as to relieve the feelings of pity and terror. Nor does it help much to view this ongoing revolution as a Greek tragedy of necessity: "isn't it a shame it had to be that way?" Equally irrelevant is the Christian tragic view which becomes the shattered possibility.

Where, then, lies the tragedy, or the fear of tragedy, in the new industrial order? Kierkegaard's analysis of anxiety provides us with a clue: it lies in the dread of the good. If indeed neo-industrialism does harbor tragedy, it surely lies where John Dewey affirmed that evil lies: in the rejected good. Tragedy for modern industrial man, someone has said, inheres in the fact that he can try out both his strength and his creativity and yet never put them to use. It is this which still rings out in the words of Henry IV to the tardy Crillon: "Hang yourself, brave Crillon! we fought at Arques, and you were not there."

Perhaps even more to the point is the view which argues concerning the new industrialism that the only possibility of tragedy in it lies in the choice which must be made between good and good, between right and right. It is the utter necessity of such choice and of its inevitable dangers that prompts me to turn at this point to the ideological dimensions of the new industrialism in America. The route to tragedy, if tragedy there be, runs through the recognition not only of the necessity of choice between good and good, between right and right, but also through the recognition that modern industrial man—still unhappily "the thinking reed" that Pascal affirmed he was —himself created the very necessity of such choices!

III. AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THE 'EIGHTIES: THE RISE OF IDEOLOGY

6. *The Decline of the Pragmatic Euphoria*:—It raises no eyebrows to say that for Americans the good society, even the great society for that matter, is essentially a pragmatic society. It is a view reinforced by many things in American life and American history—the American frontier traditions, abundant material resources, extensive human mobility, and technological abundance. In a society of widening margins the clash of interests and claims can be mediated, so Americans have insisted, out of a growing abundance of goods and services. American affluence and pragmatism have obviously reinforced one another. Moreover, much of the social legislation of the last generation in the United States has been sanctioned by the pragmatic philosophy that it is a good thing, a practical solution.

The pragmatic euphoria of American politics has been similarly strengthened by a *value-neutral* culture pattern, in essence an institutional embodiment of the technological and scientific world-view (i. e., rationality) of industrialism. Value-neutrality is an outlook oriented to what my Syracuse colleague, sociologist Jack Douglas, calls a "knowledge-based society—a society in which information, socially defined as scientific-technological information, is the legitimate basis of action and is a goal in itself." This emergence of knowledge industries and knowledge occupations, of experts and expertise in decision-making—of information entrepreneurs, or as Galbraith has called them, public opinion control industrialists—has been heralded by Daniel Bell as part of what he termed with unimpressive punditry "the end of ideology." All that is needed, it seems, is the expert solution of social problems.

In opposition to Bell, I told that these events must be seen in the light of what is happening to the pragmatic euphoria of American politics, which is clearly on the decline. It is on the decline, in my opinion, for several reasons: partly because of its abdication of individual responsibility for action, partly because of the existential nausea generated by the externalistic conception of man held by classic industrialism, partly because in an age of rising claims and limited resources some claims have to be sacrificed or reduced (and therewith severe conflicts created), and partly because the liberal humanitarianism which has permeated and prompted much of the pragmatic concessions and compromises of contemporary social politics has been exposed as a shoddy guilt-fear of making and maintaining existential choice itself.

Much more important for the course of the next two decades, however, is the fact that the decline of the pragmatic euphoria of American politics has been marked by the rise of ideology. For many Americans this is a fearful prospect, for they have been taught that ideology is an unspeakable evil, alien and un-American. At best, ideology may be suffered on the ground that it is a rationalization (in either the psychological or logical sense of that word) of the primary interests of a group, or class, or individual. At its worst, ideology has been castigated as the phantasizing activity of infantile intellectuals (a view which approximates what Napoleon, who coined the word ideology, thought of it!).

But the mounting stridency of the politics of the right and of the left and the unmistakable movement away from the politics of despair and the politics of pressure to the politics of power and even the politics of revolution which we are now witnessing in the ranks of the young and the poor, the ethnic and the old, have about them an undeniable and unavoidable quality of ideology. Why is this?

7. *The Politics of Morality*:—I think that one reason for the final emergence of ideology in American politics lies in the sheer existential character of any assertion of interest and of identity. Ideology is literally the substance of things hoped for, of things not seen, but in either case the substance of things absolutely and critically essential to existence. Because ideology is the substance of these things, it becomes also their defense, their rationale, their inspiration and guidance. Always ideology has been sharpened by the fine edges of angry social perceptions—the perception of the inequalities of power, of the inequalities of justice, of the inequalities of goods and services, of the inequalities of fundamental human esteem. Always the thrust of ideology is toward the definition and realization of the good society. Even when it is the ideology of an absurd society no less than when it is the ideology of a great society, its real concerns are with the good society. In ideology we see reflected less the rationality of the machine, far more the emotionality of the human spirit; its language comes from the heart far more than from the head.

This is why the concerns of ideology are those of "the politics of morality," and not of the opportunistic and tranquillizing pragmatism of political imagery. Ideology is oriented to a politics which, unlike the more traditional "morality of politics," insists that power is what we do with it, that evil is not *in things* but *in the use* we make of things. Above all, the rise of ideology points to a politics which is dedicated not to the rationalizations of interests but to the assertions of existence, which is dedicated to the interests of human history rather than the history of human interests. Certainly the ideologies of the new industrialism, as we see them in the student revolts, the civil rights movement, the "Negro revolution" and the peace movement, are fitted to a human scale—to the removal of restraints (which is *liberty*) and to the strengthened capacity to act (which is *freedom*), and in both instances these are not matters of pragmatic improvisations but of inescapable existential necessities: "with these, therefore I am!"

Moreover, just as the adherents of the new protest ideologies have been involved in a soul-search of their own identities and thus involved in struggles to make and to declare choices, so likewise the national society is engaged in soul-search and choice. However, it is crucial to understand that the ideological choice of the nation is throughout and increasingly a matter of the politics of its own morality. To simplify this idea: the trend in American politica is unquestionably toward more and more *collective* definition and *collective* realization of *collective* identity. In Aristotelian terms, this is a trend toward a politics which holds that the good society—in other words—is one which strengthens the bond between *man* and his *society*. This new politics of morality runs completely counter to that of the 19th and 20th centuries, which has persistently held that a good society is one which strengthens the bond between *man* and his own *self*. It is precisely here that the fundamental ideological issue confronting the nation during the 'sixties and the 'seventies and the 'eighties is being and is sure to be joined!

Currently this issue is being resolved as all such matters have tended to be resolved in American politics—pragmatically, by way of compromise. In time, however, the process of resolution will be less one of comparative equity (which is what Walter Lippman in his book *The Good Society* said it should be) and more one of collective reconciliation. This is sure to be a new kind of politics for Americans, strange, probably turbulent, often violent. But in time, as the day of dialogue returns after having been driven out by both violence and non-violence (as paradoxical as that may seem!), the politics of collective reconciliation will form and shape a creative institutionalism fitted both to the technological possibilities and to the human urgencies of a neo-industrialism.

IV. AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THE 'EIGHTIES: TOWARD A NEO-INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTIONALISM

8. *Beyond Alienation: The Institutionalism of Security*:—American neo-industrialism may also be characterized, as Walt W. Rostow has suggested, as an "age of high mass consumption." It is a character-

ization which by no means quarrels with Galbraith's thesis in his *The Affluent Society* concerning the declining significance of production under conditions of increasing affluence.

What kind of institutionalism seems most fitted to and most likely to occur in this neo-industrial age?

In so brief a space one can only epitomize such an institutionalism. Fortunately the pattern is already emerging and on its way in American society; my own phrase for it is this: we have been developing during the last generation a *culture of massive risk reduction institutions.* Institutionally speaking, during the last three decades in America security has become a dominant value-orientation of and for all Americans, and as such it is assuming many new and perhaps as yet unfamiliar forms.

In its most general form the security orientation of American society, an orientation which seeks to balance predictable demands with reliable and equitable resources, has developed methods of risk management and risk reduction. This quest, which in political terminology may be thought of as an institutionalism of distributive justice, has involved the nation in a major institutional transformation of its security methods of all kinds and in all areas of national life. There is scarcely a province of our national existence which has not been at least touched—where it has not been in fact transformed—by this compensatory institutional inventiveness. A ready case in point is the large family of savings agencies, all improved, extended, reinforced, and developed. I refer to the numerous varieties of retirement systems, the impressive diversification of family investment opportunities, the swelling volume of consumers' durables through installment credit, the expansion of contractual opportunities in the form of mortgages, real estate, insurance premiums, endowments, and the multiplication of opportunities for liquid savings through deposits, securities, and so on. Clearly the teller's window in the local bank is only one opening to security through savings.

But savings is only one area of institutional invention designed to enhance security as a chief value orientation in American life. No less important has been and obviously will continue to be the astounding revolution in American education already well under way in the 'sixties: the institutional realization that pedagogy is in fact politics—that literally the questions who shall be educated, by what methods and by whom, to fulfill what roles are political questions, just as they are equally economic questions. And both as politics and as economics, pedagogy is committed today and for a long foreseeable future to a gigantic process of institutional invention whose over-riding purpose is to enhance the management and the reduction of risks—social, economic, political, psychological risks—of both the individual human being and the society in America.

The commitment to new and better institutions of security protection and promotion is no less obvious in the area of science. For here government and science are engaged as reciprocals of one another in a giant process of discovery and development, and this is part of a long-established tradition in the United States dating from the days of Jefferson and Adams. The heart of this fundamental alliance has long been the dedication on the part of scientists, as Don K. Price has demonstrated, to a pattern of progress through decentralization of power and function. Although this alliance between science and government has dangers, perhaps even clear and present dangers as the recent technological invasions of personal privacy show, nevertheless its overwhelming contribution to the promotion and protection of personal and institutional security is unmistakeable and is profoundly gratifying. The clearest instance of this is in the area of science and public policy: there is hardly a problem of public policy that does not elicit abundant scientific assistance. No one can seriously question the spiraling pattern of contribution to the security of national life which this alliance will make in the decades ahead.

Perhaps these few illustrations—and similar, even more impressive examples are to be found all over the landscape today—of institutional transformation and enlargement of American security means and norms have made my point: a neo-industrial technology can without question and will without doubt stimulate, support and enrich a creative institutionalism geared not only to the routines of industrial process but also to its creativity.

Yet there is fear, understandable fear, I think, that the neo-industrial institutionalism may be fitted too snugly, too rigidly, even relentlessly to the mechanized model of classic industrialism. In a developing society, particularly one developing so swiftly, it is easy to forget that it is people who must develop. Man is still and must remain the measure. To be sure, this is no simple, no standardized, no geometricized modular principle; in fact, the engineering mind is apt to think it closer to Giovanni Bruno's universe, one with neither center nor circumference: a bureaucrat's nightmare indeed! Adam Smith, in a much neglected emphasis, reminded us long ago in his *Wealth of Nations* that the wealth of nations is indeed in the people themselves:

> "The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person. These talents, as they make a part of his fortunes, so do they likewise that of the society to which he belongs."

The human image of the neo-industrial institutionalism must remain relevantly and centrally human; and as an image it must be a creative synthesis of fact and dream, of routine and novelty, of stability and change.

V. Coda: Dialectic of Theme and Variation

9. *Institutional Invention as Dialectical Synthesis*:—In this present venture in culture forecasting I have found the theme of the 'eighties to be the familiar theme of industrialization. But it is a neo-industrialization whose central thrust is implosive, not explosive: the movements of men and ideas are centripetal, inclusive, organic, systemic. Mechanical segmentation and delegation of function and form are being reversed in the direction of consolidation, coordination, and instantaneous totality. The flow of industrial process is now and will continue to be an information flow, and it is non-stop: both the human immersion and the institutional inundation in the information flow which now epitomize and will continue to epitomize contemporary social organization are continuous and inescapable: the outer world is in almost uninterrupted translation into inner experience.

The antithesis of this "technological elaboration," to use economist C. E. Ayres' focal phrase, is in the ambient awareness of sharp and clamorous ideologies, as men in groups and parties stake out with increasing fierceness their identities as well as their interests in the management of the technological future of America.

An adaptive institutionalism, combining the rationality of the new industrialism with the existential values of human beings struggling to live freely as well as merely to survive in an integrated mass society, and emerging as a culture of collective reconciliation of man with man, with machine: such is the creative synthesis of the 'eighties in America, and indeed of any other decade. If my language here reminds you of the metaphor of a dialectic process, let it also remind you that with such dialectic Americans can, as Nietzsche said man must, continue to create a dancing star!

THE CURRICULUM IN CONFRONTATION WITH TOMORROW

Dr. Harold G. Shane
University Professor of Education
Indiana University

Education's "collision with tomorrow." All of us, as human beings, face a premature and disconcerting confrontation with tomorrow. In the brief span of less than one lifetime we have moved "from yesterday to tomorrow" virtually by-passing "today."

Let me put it another way. In the past, change occurred slowly. One had centuries to accustom himself to the Middle Ages, generations to accept the new ideas of the Renaissance, and a century or more to accommodate himself to the Industrial Revolution. This is no longer true today! In the last 30 years of the lifetime of a man who is 60 years old today, the world probably has changed more than it has changed in the past 800 generations.

Some of our remote ancestors who lived in the Lascaux Caves of the Dordogne Valley in France were beginning to behave in the manner of men approximately 50 thousand years ago. If we assume 60 years of age as a generous lifetime for each of our forbearers, beginning with those who lived in the ancient caves of France, there are perhaps 50 thousand years involved—time for about 800 persons to survive, bear children, grow old, and die. *From among this group of 800 persons, the changes in the last half of the last man's lifetime are equivalent to the changes in the preceeding 49,970 years.* Kenneth Boulding, the distinguished and influential scholar, phrased the nature of this phenomenal, recent and rapid change in a most vivid manner. "The date that divides human history into two equal parts is well within living memory," he said.

As a result of our collision with tomorrow there has been an almost incredible shift within the memories of the persons alive today; a transition from a familiar world in which we grew up to one that has almost numbed us with the steadily increasing differences between our youth and our mature years. An illustration will help make this point. If a time machine were suddenly to transport Julius Caesar from ancient Rome to George Washington's home at Mount Vernon, Caesar would quickly have understood the 18th century world about him. The carriages of 1780 would have seemed a little different from a Roman chariot but the propulsive power was the same—horses. He might have been a little puzzled to see a rifle, but rather quickly would have understood the concept of exploding powder used to propel a bullet. If you took both Caesar and George Washington on a trip through time from 1780 to our old family farm in northern Indiana in 1920 immediately after World War II, you again would have found that Caesar and Washington would have rapidly understood the way of life on the farm. There were at most only a few implements that were new. For example, there was a hand-operated water pump on the kitchen drain-board, but its operational principles would have been easy for them to understand. There was also a windmill which pumped water for the cattle, but to the best of my memory, those were about the only things on that farm that either Washington or Caesar would have looked upon with much interest as totally novel innovations to both of them.

Since 1920, and especially since 1940, virtually all of the dramatic changes of which I speak have transpired. As one result, the world is in many respects more different from the world of 1920 than the world of 1920 was different from that of Washington or Caesar.

Let us trace with you some of the changes in our environment in 1939 or 1940 that reflect our confrontation with tomorrow. In 1939 the rare man who made $16,000 retained over $15,000 of his income *after taxes.* During the same period, all federal expenditures were around nine billion dollars and many people expressed alarm at the "enormous extravagance" of the New Deal. It was pointed out, for instance, that nine billion was as much as we had spent from the birth of our country to the beginning of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Administration. Now, in the U. S. budget, the total expenditures for educational services in the United States and in our overseas spending for education approached $40 billion. Another $80-odd billion went into the cost of past, present, and future wars.

In 1939 one could buy Fords for less than $500 and a new Cadillac sold for $1800. It is equally startling to recall that in the world of yesterday approximately half of the people in the United States had dropped out of school by the end of grade eight. The census figures on drop-outs that I cite are from 28 years ago. I recall, for example, that among my own relatives, my grandparents, with the exception of a maternal grandmother, and my mother and father did not continue beyond the eighth grade. Indeed, they seemed to feel that it was a satisfying accomplishment to progress even that far through the schools of Indiana!

Here are a few more statistics that are redolent of change. Thirty-five per cent of our homes had no flush toilets in 1939, and 25 per cent had no running water. And think of the population change! Thirty years ago the men, women, and children in the U. S. added up only to the 100 million mark. Recently we exceeded the 200 million mark.

The phenomenon of FUTURE-shock. These data suggest how change has carried us into the future like chips swirling in a millrace. As one outcome we have begun to suffer from what may aptly be called "*future*-shock." Those of you who have worked overseas understand the phenomenon of "*culture* shock." Persons who go to places like India find themselves in a cultural milieu so different from their own that they lose contact with the familiar social and behavioral clues which they used when making their way through the cultural landscape of the United States. As newcomers, they are unsure as how to behave intelligently and interact properly with the native-born in a different, unfamiliar world such as that of Korea, Thailand, or Nigeria. I, myself, have felt the unsettling force of culture shock until I learned while in foreign lands to accommodate myself to certain things that just didn't seem to make sense because I lacked the cross-cultural background needed to understand them.

Let me suggest that many of us, if we are past thirty, are suffering from a form of shock *because we have encountered the future so rapidly and with such major changes in the ordered pattern of our lives that we are suffering from a kind of dizzying disorientations* from *future*-shock. Think about it! Do you find yourself puzzled and upset by some of the things you see and hear going on around you in a world changing at an exponential rate? If you feel uneasy it could well be because you've moved from the familiar "yesterdays" which you knew very well into strange "tomorrows" for which you have yet to develop coping behavior.

The cultural clues we have acquired from the past no longer seem to guide us as they once did. The lack of these clues in a new cultural terrain is an important cause of our *future*-shock. In education during the last 10 or 15 years, related disciplines with relevance for education have, in disconcerting fashion, gotten out of hand. For instance, we find ourselves quivering from the impact of new linguistic clues from structural and transformational-generative grammar. The so-called "new science" unnerves both teacher and parent and administrator. The same generalization applies to changes in mathematics. When I was a boy in the Middle West, when you used the word "set," you meant that you were about to place your *derrière* on a chair. Now "set" has mathematical rather than anotomical connotations to my children.

The cummulative impact of innovation has touched education in many other ways. Long-postponed civil rights legislation has swept over us and has left many educators troubled and uncomfortable despite their recognition of the fact that the implementation of human rights concepts has been too long deferred. The role of higher education, too, has changed. In 1892, as my memory serves me, there were 25 thousand young people enrolled in our colleges and universities. Today, there are five or six million. During the same 75 years, the total number of students in secondary education has increased fortyfold while the population has merely quadrupled. Numerous stresses were created by this expansion.

The educational power structure makes us uneasy as it changes. Likewise, while there is an increasing and unprecedented funding of education, somehow the money does not channel itself in the ways in which we wish to see it channeled. The difficulties associated with megalapolitanism and metropolitism are turning our cities from melting pots into pressure cookers, and danger in the streets continues to increase. The development of the "learning business" leaves educators both intrigued and bemused as huge corporations buy up and take on the direction of companies producing educational media.

Marshal McLuhan, the Canadian scholar, has talked about the "retribalizing" of American youth under the impact of television. Cybernetics, the realm of automatic control systems, has hit us, and other innumerable electronically derived changes are altering our lives. In a sense we find ourselves in a strange country from which we can not return to the world of the 1950's we once knew.

We can plan desirable educational futures. Whether you agree with my analysis or not, it seems likely that we can agree as to the fact that the life we once knew has been eroded by the developments of the past two decades. And what—if anything—can we do to contend with this kind of change? For one thing, we can methodically begin in this unfamiliar era to plan and to decide ways of shaping new and intelligently designed educational futures for America. I am suggesting that we can find the means methodically, intelligently, and scientifically to study the nature of the rapid transitional jump that we are taking and turn the changes involved in moving from the past to the future into tremendous assets rather than sources of confusion for us.

Usually, in the past, educators have construed the future to be *linear*. We tended to think of this future as something that stretched out like a long narrow ribbon of highway. Now we need to create and to explore another concept: *the concept that the future, instead of being linear, is fan-shaped.* In other words, we do not have a future ahead of us in education; we have an infinite range of many possible futures that fan out before us with many, many more possibilities in it than has heretofore been realized. More explicitly, I am proposing that through the processes of reasoned conjecture about teaching and learning we can more nearly become the masters of our educational futures. Let us turn the inexorable processes of change to our advantage; let us deliberately set out to build better tomorrows, that we ourselves have designed. This will involve developing an educative sequence which begins with early childhood and sweeps on in a seamless continuum that leads to entrance into graduate school for those among our youth who show signs of being the promising individuals which our culture must prize and cultivate.

The procedure of which I am speaking is coming to be known in some circles as "*future*-planning," a means of anticipating and mediating the future in ways which are consistent with our examined educational values. "*Future*-planning" is not a term which I have made up for my lecture on this occasion. It is a concept of considerable historical respectability. Let me briefly present an overview of future-planning for those who may not be familiar with it. According to Bertrand de Jouvenel, the dean of European futurists, Voltaire was the first person of historical note to contemplate the idea of "possible futures." A few years later, in 1773, the first document deliberately designed to help the government study alternative political futures was prepared for Louis XV. It was written by a man named Flavier, who based certain predictions and projections on what he called "reasoned conjectures" about the possible French foreign policies. Some years later the Flavier report was found in the *armoire de fer* or strongbox of Louis XVI by the revolutionists who had overthrown him.

By the end of World War II the idea of methodical *future*-planning had begun to rapidly develop. In the 1950's RAND engaged in a number of studies of the future and major U. S. Corporations such as General Motors and Westinghouse who had put staffs to work on the task of "sizing up" the future and its implications for product development and corporation expansion. Even the *New York Times* established an editorial *future*-planning board of editors a few years ago. It was the board's task to contemplate the treatment of news events that *might* happen.

I see no reason why educators should not do likewise and give careful heed to *planning* and *creating* a future for children and youth which is consistent with desirable educational values. If we observe certain important safe-guards, it should be possible for us to proceed to engage in intelligent *future*-planning and actually intervene in or mediate the future. In fine, there is no reason why educators cannot and should not use professional initiative and develop a procedure which will help the schools to choose wisely among the multiple futures that lie before them. While educational groups have not yet undertaken formal *future*-planning, I think our profession can move in this direction during the next five years.

Involved in the process would be a careful census of social trends of significance. As the result of an inventory of trends* that are developing in our country we could move into an analysis of the future social consequences of these particular developments. Which are benign, and which might be harmful to good education?

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*A trend census of the sort mentioned here would need to be made in cooperation with specialists in a number of relevant disciplines: anthropology, sociology, business, biochemistry, physics, etc.

In view of the outcomes of the census of trends and their probable educational consequences, we would next need to assess ways in which desirable trends could be encouraged because of their probable values *for education.* Once we are clear in our own minds as to the educational futures that are most to be prized we can begin to develop better environments of learning and to create curriculum materials and experiences which are consistent with those educational futures we seek. Let me reiterate that the task of assessing future educational possibilities will be both time-consuming and intellectually demanding, but it seems well worth the time and effort. Perhaps only thus can we begin to build the relevant educational programs our schools need.

The remainder of my talk is concerned with a sampling of educational changes that all of us may be concerned with in the decade which lies before us. At the risk of tedium may I repeat that I have endeavored to say *first* that we have suddenly had a jolting collision with tomorrow and that many of us have been disoriented by the impact; and *second,* that we can capitalize on rapid change through reasoned conjectures as to what our educational futures may hold. We can do this by more aggressively seeking to create wholesome educational change—with suitable safeguards to insure that we do not rely on technology *per se* to improve teaching and learning. We *can* anticipate and to some extent control the future through the exercise of our intellect. Now let us contemplate some of the developments which seem likely to be a part of our educational tomorrows in the 1970's and the 1980's.

The general direction of educational change. There is little doubt that changes in education will continue and that they will be even more extensive in the 1970's. One of the major ones will almost inevitably be a reversal of present educational priorities. Heretofore, the pattern of our educational expenditures has resembled an inverted pyramid. The major per-pupil investment has been made at the university level and has tapered off to the vanishing point in early childhood.

In the coming decade, without any cut-backs in secondary or higher education, the sums invested in early childhood and elementary education will increase sharply. This will come about as the U. S. recognizes that we have spent millions of dollars at the secondary and the collegiate level to compensate for the lack of educative programs in early childhood. Later in my talk I will suggest some of the specific ways in which our educational monies are likely to be spent in early childhood to improve adjustment, increase physical health, and "create intelligence."

Increased educational opportunity. What may we expect in the 1970's in addition to a reversal of priorities in education? On the horizon is a change in the role of the school as an agency for selecting children for social and economic advancement. In the past, the post-secondary opportunities for social and economic advancement were gradually *narrowed* until only a small, rather privileged group emerged from four or more years of college. In the future I believe that our society through its elementary and high schools, will expand appreciably the opportunities for all youth. In other words, mass education, as it is occurring, say, at the University of Nebraska, reflects a widening of the path between the secondary school and the university. It also seems likely that much of the dissent, the student unrest that concerns university faculty members, will be sharply reduced through opportunities that are fairer ones for all persons seeking a higher education they deem relevant.

Closing the gap between school and the learner. In the realm of changes for the '70's, we find that there should be a lessening of the participation and communication gap between the learner and the school. As we continue to analyze student strikes, walk-outs and protests in both secondary schools and colleges we will more successfully find ways of helping students identify themselves with more activities which *they* consider meaningful. When this happens, we will be more successful in keeping schooling from conflicting with the students' real education!

Heed to students' testimony, reactions, and evaluation. As a corollary to the point above, it seems inevitable that there will be a greater heed given by all of us working in secondary education to students' evaluations; more heed to students' reactions as to what is relevant curriculum. I'll discuss this point in greater detail in a moment when we examine the "derived curriculum."

More appropriate education for the disadvantaged. Many imaginative approaches to curriculum change are on the horizon with regard to programs for the deprived and the disadvantaged. After the Coleman report, "Equality of Educational Opportunity," was published we heard a great deal about compensatory education. This is a viable concept, but does not go far enough. We also need supportive education. This term refers to educational opportunities that are not only equalized but personalized by tailoring them to the cultural differences that exist between ethnic groups in the United States.

Several thoughtful persons with whom I have talked in recent months believe that we should have different kinds of education for ethnically different groups. That is, there should be a different education for the Negro, Spanish American, the Oriental American, or the Jewish American, in those areas where such children have a distinct culture-group identity. Research reported by Skodolsky and Lesser in 1967, research which has been replicated successfully, seems to imply that children can profit from an education oriented to their ethnic background. This is apparently not due to genetic differences but due to strong culture differences which have influenced them by the time they are five.

Studies conducted by Kagan also suggest that we cannot expect children to break free of their socio-cultural matrices after age 5, but we can build their intellectual prowess by studying how to diminish the differences that are created in early childhood. To use an illustration, Negro children, Puerto Recan children, ethnic-group Jewish children and Oriental-American children appear to have distinctly different ways of learning most effectively. Skodolsky and Lesser have graphed these divergencies and the ways in which the learner functions most effectively in a given ethnic-cultural group. Our efforts at "supportive education" will support the child's approach to learning in the ways that his sub-culture group membership suggests.

Another imaginative approach to education for the disadvantaged may come about if we think of our ghettos as "educational disaster areas." Let us consider what happens in a disaster area when a bomb explodes and levels buildings that had covered a square mile, or where a devastating fire has created analogous destruction. Usually, we pour all of our work and efforts into the center of the devastated area. At the same time we give little heed to the less damaged areas where we move outward from square blocks of *total* destruction into *heavy* destruction, then to *severe* destruction, to light destruction, and finally to *negligible* destruction. Dose it not make sense to start out in the areas of negligible damage—places where, by (1) hooking up the water mains and (2) putting the glass back in the windows, repairmen can develop a functional, viable ring around a disaster area? We can move then, back into the area of light destruction and reclaim it by (1) hooking up the water mains, (2) restoring the glass in the windows, and (3) putting roofs on the houses. Eventually, by healing from the outer edges we can close in on and reconstruct the "heavy" and the "total" destruction areas. Can we not reclaim educational disaster areas in the same way—working inward from the periphery.

It is, of course, unthinkable to leave children for 10 or 20 years to grow up in our ghettos while these social sores are healed through cooperative civic action. We can, however, remove children during the school day from the troubled, decaying hearts of our cities and to a peripheral group of schools. For a decade or more, why not sell the school ghetto property, dispose of the land, and begin to build as fast as we can, annexes on schools in better neighborhoods, and additional schools in environments where it is easier to achieve an education that is more effective and lasting. Such a suggestion is not feasible everywhere—but it is more than a mere conversation piece! Certainly, the idea of eliminating educational disaster areas by moving children and youth from them merits attention as we plan possible futures in education. Better learning environments also should serve to lessen the problem of alienation of youth in our ghettos without doing harm to children from higher social and economic strata with whom they would become associated.

Organizational changes.—What kinds of new organizational structures seem sensible in view of the social and educational trends of our era. First of all, let's look at what may happen to the structure of our school programs for young children. I have already said that I believe we can anticipate a reversal of priorities; that within the next ten years, we'll find a number of schools beginning the planned education of children as early as age two.

Reasoned conjecture suggests that as more funds are invested in early childhood, the school's responsibility will begin with the non-school preschool. The non-school preschool program is the place at which the school's responsibility would begin but without involving teaching 24 month old children. Here the school would begin to assess its future clientele, to work with parents, perhaps through educational TV programs, and through direct visitation in the home. Medical and dental check-ups would be made, problems identified, nutrition assessed, and so on. Also, the school's record-keeping for guidance purposes would begin, In a nutshell, the non-school preschool for two year olds would leave us with the beginnings of medical, psychological, and social records, and provide a basis for attacking problems such as malnutrition, before they have become so erosive as to handicap a child before he even gets to kindergarten.

Continued physical care, enrichment of experience and methodical guidance would begin in the mini-school, a term which obviously is derived from the overworked "mini" prefix! The mini-school would be one which could be staffed by paraprofessionals working with a sub-group of approximately six children in the morning and six others in the afternoon. Housing for these groups could be taken care of in church schools that are unused during the week, in housing projects, in wings of schools that are being built or rebuilt, in added space provided for kindergarten suites, or in virtually any safe building with some adjacent play area.

Professional supervision could be provided by a person in early childhood education—one with two or more years of graduate-level preparation and with substantial educational experience. Such a supervisor would work with guidance personnel as well as the paraprofessionals and begin to prepare school records that would extend from age two or three through the senior high school years and beyond. The mini-school proposed here is not a play school although it has elements of pleasure in it. It is a way in which the schools can begin to enrich the environment and thus build intelligence in the child as a dam creates water power. Research pointing toward exciting developments in learning already suggests that by mediating the young learner's environment, the quality we measure and label "intelligence" actually can be increased. In a sense, that is what we are seeking to do in mini-schools.

The mini-school, a decade hence, may be followed by a novel pre-primary continuum. Such a continuum would enroll youngsters of four and five, just as our junior and senior kindergartens now enroll them. But the similarity ends here. The pre-primary experience will be one extending from one year, for a very bright child, to as many as three, four, or even five years for the deprived or under-privileged, and for children who have language deficiencies. In this setting, no one would "flunk kindergarten" if he did not go on at the end of two years. He would simply remain in the pre-primary program until he seems ready to succeed in the primary school years which follow.

The primary continuum would come next in the school organization we are describing. Once again, this is an unbroken period of time coinciding with what we now call the primary grades. Eventually, depending on his development, in from two to four years, the child would enter a middle school continuum. Here also we find a redesigned program at what is today called the intermediate and junior high school level. This section of the educational continuum would be characterized by such qualities as flexibility, pupil exchange among schools, and much less homogeneity, with respect to age. By the time children from the middle school begin their high school experiences you might find pupils of a five or six year age range in the same groups, e.g., a 14 year old and an 18 year old might be in the same third year French group.

As we begin to learn more about flexible progress and adjust our thinking to school-sponsored experiences beginning in early childhood it should not be impossible to conceive of secondary school graduates who have, at 18, an education equivalent to that of a person with a baccalaureate degree today. This is not an irresponsible statement, particularly if you look at some of the things that able students already have accomplished in schools oriented to individuality. It may well be that we *can* create a new educational world with regard to the products graduated from our schools. Twenty years hence, secondary teachers may be cast in a role similar in function to that of the professor who teaches undergraduate college classes today. And he may be doing a better job because many of our college professors presently lack a professional background in education.

Some new answers to old problems. New school policies and structures on the horizon should reduce certain long-standing problems that have led to endless dispute among teachers. Admission-age problems vanish in the pre-primary continuum—or, at least sharply decrease. The grouping of children also is no longer a problem. There *is* no problem where "personalized instruction" is achieved and children and youth move along a continuum of individualized progress. As grouping moves *beyond* non-grading and into a seamless continuum, then, neither promotion nor failure threatens children and youth with the hurdle which one now meets periodically. Reporting pupil progress as we now attempt to handle it also will disappear because the school's evaluations will be continuous. The 1970's may see us crossing the threshhold of an era in which the downward projection of educational responsibility, beginning with the non-school preschool, will carry us to new human and educational frontiers on which the college and the university of today meet, and, in many ways, merge.

Changes pending in the curriculum of the VTGJ's. In the years immediately ahead we will probably begin to move toward a *derived* rather than an *imposed* curriculum. To put it another way, in the next ten years, we should begin to catch up with the ideas in books and articles that Galen Saylor wrote some ten or fifteen years ago! In this emerging period of long-deferred improvement in education, instead of having content based on the assumption that content is inherently logical, we will develop a derived content based on pupil-need analysis and personalized requisition of resource materials for individual children. We will see that the structure in most of what we learn resides in the *children and youth* who make learning a part of themselves rather than in the *content* of a discipline.

We will also begin to hear more of a new, useful word, the *paracurriculum*. Since a paraprofessional is a person who accompanies or works deside the professional persons, the meaning of paracurriculum" is almost self-evident. It refers to, or is extracted from those things which are the non-instructional concomitants in the life of the school. The paracurriculum includes the *total* configuration of students' experiences—of the myriad of things going on in a school.

Another likely curriculum trend of the 1960's promises to create a better balance between *ends* and *means* in the schools in the 1970's. We probably will place greater stress on *expressive* or means-oriented programs than on *instrumental* or ends-oriented programs. This implies increases in such activities as school camping, educational travel, personalized sports skills, and cultivation of hobby-skills. These schools of tomorrow will be harder but more interesting; harder because the children we start out in the non-school preschool and the mini-school will be ready for much more substantial learning experiences by early adolescence than has heretofore been the rule; more interesting because their programs are derived from our growing knowledge of childhood and youth.

In the 1970's we also should see much methodical annexation of content from related fields. In the past 10 or 15 years, the so-called new mathematics and the new science and certain work in the field of linguistics have been called to our attention by specialists in these three academic disciplines. From now on, I think we will find educationists methodically increasing their level of scholarship and aggressively exploring such a field as linguistics *on their own initiative* and annexing appropriate content in the '7o's and '80's. These professional teachers constantly will be asking "How can knowledge from other fields be phased into what we are doing?" as they seek to improve their work in the classroom.

One last point pertaining to changes in tomorrow's curriculum. It is by no means beyond imagination to think of the secondary school moving to a point at which as many as three diplomas are issued under its auspices—first to a youngster somewhere between 15 and 20, second to a man somewhere between 40 and 45, and somewhere to a former graduate with between 55 and 65 years of life behind him. Since geriatric developments indicate that in the next century many persons will live as long as 120 to 125 years there is no telling *how* many diplomas the secondary school may issue to the same man in the year 2100! Certainly, in the future, men and their wives seem certain to come back repeatedly not just for a short-term night school course on dog-obedience, tourist French, or bridge, but for more extensive and demanding learning experiences that may extend for over a year or more in the classroom. Such adult education programs will be shaped by social need and social demand, and there is no way of telling as yet just how widely they will range.

Learning and environmental mediation. The concluding paragraphs of my talk are not science fiction. In fact, we might refer to them as "science *non*-fiction." Let me begin with a personal anecdote.

Two years ago I stopped in to visit a gentleman whom many of you know by reputation; Jean Piaget, distinguished professor of psychology, now in his sixties, and a member of the faculty of the University of Geneva. During the hour before his morning class began we talked of his then-current work on memory. At the end of our discussion I asked Professor Piaget a question. "You are now 65," I said. "Suppose this were a period in your life when you were 40 years younger. If you were beginning your research anew in human development, where would you begin to expend your effort in building another career."

He thought a minute and, as I recall it, said, "For one thing, I would pay less attention to the psychologists. They may never agree on anything! Instead I would look to biochemistry. Here we may discover more about learning than we will extract from any other discipline in the next ten years."

In the interval that has passed since our conversation, some of the most exciting kinds of developments that have a bearing upon the future have stemmed from the things that we are learning about biochemical and environmental mediation and intervention.

Let me give you a few examples. David Kresh, working in California, has obtained results in research with mice which suggest that a stimulating environment apparently creates physiological changes in mental equipment. Drugs that influence the personality, increase concentration, and improve memory have been identified. Animal behavior has been controlled by means of electrodes which stimulated certain areas of the brain, and rats have had their personalities impaired by being placed in environments which simulate the ghettos of our urban centers.

Some of the more interesting and significant value-judgments that educators make during the next several decades could be related to the policies we decide to pursue with respect to whether to intervene in personality development in the hope of improving human beings through chemicals, environmental mediation, or surgery. To select a relatively uncomplicated dilemma: since the patterns of class and ethnicbehavior are apparently established even before children of five get to school in most places nowadays, should society intervene and remove children of 24 or 36 months from undesirable environments? If the query be answered in the affirmative, what are the long-range consequences of such action?

If and as environmental mediation increases—and if present trends continue this is almost certain—it seems inevitable that the school will *become* media. The school itself will become media rather than a mere source of shelter from the elements. This is already happening in certain limited ways.

As schools become more complex settings for learning, we will find persons specializing in human relations diagnosis and available to work in clusters of three, four, five, or six elementary and secondary schools, depending on the size of the schools. We will find computer-assisted and computer-based instruction centers which also will provide extensive resources for simulation. New concepts of guidance and assessment centers likewise will develop. No doubt we also will establish more inquiry and self-realization (or "SR") centers in which one will find the responsive environments of stimulating rooms in which there are many enrichment materials as well as versatile teachers to help students carry on their inquiries.

First in secondary schools, and then later in elementary and middle schools, "Materials Creation Centers" will evolve. Here we may find artists, writers, and musicians. If a teacher wants a made-to-order transparency, there will be somebody who can do the job. In due course many schools also will have electronic carrels and study centers clustered conveniently in these inquiry centers and elsewhere. By the '80's, we probably will even find home learning centers becoming commonplace. Already, according to an "education business" executive, devices for converting home TV sets to closed-circuit, educational use are in advanced experimental stages. A device that plugs into your television set so that you can use programmed materials provided by the school should be available at very low cost by 1975.

With respect to emerging developments in administration, within a decade we doubtless will have perfected "principal teams" and will have done a great deal more to prepare the paraprofessional and to clarify his role. Also, in prospect is a teacher unit built around a cadre of well-prepared, seasoned, top-notch teachers, each one specialized in a field such as reading or science, and a cluster of individuals who work as interns finishing their degrees but who are not yet full-time teachers, as beginning teachers-in-residence, and as paraprofessionals.

By way of conclusion. Back in the '20's there was a cartoonist by the name of Dick Calkins who created a cartoon strip built around Buck Rogers. Buck had as his partner in space adventures a young lady named Wilma. She was habitually dressed in a mini-skirt, wore high boots, and sported a hair-do very much like those popular in the 1960's. An interesting thing about the cartoon is that the artist, Dick Calkins, portrayed the world as he thought it was going to be in the year 2600. Yet everything he imagined came about in 30 years, not 600 years. It is our task in education to *future*-plan so that we can not only keep up with such rapid innovation but also exercise a wholesome effect on the role of education during decades ahead.

The future is important to all of us because we are going to spend the remainder of our lives there. Hopefully, in this future educational world, we will bring old wisdom to a new age.

In Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure,* Lucio makes the statement, "Our doubts are traitors and oft would make us lose the good that we might win by failing to attempt." As we move from our state of *future*-shock and progress into educational tomorrows we must make sure that our doubts, our uncertainties, and our fears about our educational tomorrows do not betray us.

The future will belong to those who choose most wisely among the multiple educational futures that lie ahead.

ISSUES IN SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR THE FUTURE

BY GALEN SAYLOR, CHAIRMAN
Department of Secondary Education
University of Nebraska

The Committee which planned this exceedingly flattering conference in my honor on the occasion of my retirement from the Chairmanship of the department said that I might conclude the conference by speaking on any subject of interest to me. They said that I could reminisce about aspects of my career during the forty-six years I have spent as a teacher, school administrator, and college staff member, discuss matters of mutual concern, consider prospects for the future, or, in fact, talk on any subject that I wanted to consider. But I see no purpose to be served by reminiscing about events of my own career or to review for a well-informed audience developments in the field of secondary education. I chose, therefore, to discuss what I regard as five major issues that face the pepole of this country who are concerned about the schooling of secondary age youth in the immediate years ahead.

In selecting problems and issues that I feel require solution in the years immediately ahead I am not in any way depreciating or minimizing the tremendous contributions that secondary schools have made to the education of American citizens and to the development of this great nation of ours; a recitation of the glories and achievements of the secondary schools of this nation during the past half-century is unnecessary for an audience of highly knowledgeable educators.

In discussing some of the problems that require for solution I certainly, on the other hand, should acknowledge that history records as one of the most outstanding achievements of the American people the formulation and acceptance of the concept of universal education for all youth in a common school program of general education.[1] Other nations of the world, both the highly developed nations and the underdeveloped ones, now generally recognize that the great achievements of the American people and their contributions to the progress of the world have in considerable part been possible because our forefathers decided in the latter part of the nineteenth and the earlier part of the twentieth centuries that secondary schooling should be universally available without barriers or selection to all youth in this country and that the secondary schools should develop a program that would best serve the educational needs, comprehensively conceived, of all the children of all of the people. Hence, the significant contribution of this country to educational thought and practice throughout the world has been the establishment and development of the American comprehensive secondary school. One who has devoted a lifetime to secondary education cannot but be exceedingly proud of the fact that this concept of human equality has been one of the primary tenets of the democratic faith of the American people and one of the basic factors in the realization of the American dream for peoples of all nationalities, all races, all ethnic groups, all colors, and all religions from throughout the world.

But changing times, new social, economic, and political conditions, and new "explosions" throughout the world—a term by which I refer to recent development in communication and technology, the explosion of knowledge, and the rising expectations of people everywhere for human fulfillment—have given rise in our own country to what I consider to be some conditions in the schooling of youth that must be faced in the years immediately ahead. So let us now turn to what I declare to be in my opinion the five most important problems which cry for solution.

I. THE HIGH SCHOOL DROP-OUT PROBLEM: THE FRUSTRATED, THE DISILLUSIONED, THE ALIENATED, THE UNCHALLENGED

In my opinion the most serious problem facing American educators, school officials, and concerned citizens today is the school dropout problem among American adolescents. Not only is dropping out of secondary school a colossal human waste, but it is indicative of a syndrome of conditions in secondary education that must be corrected.

The Slag-heap of American Youth. About 25 to 28 per cent of all American youth are not now completing the twelfth grade of formal schooling. Inasmuch as about 3,800,000 young people reach the age of secondary schooling yearly, and it will soon approach four million, it is evident that approximately a million young Americans annually are now dropping out of school prior to graduation. This means that we are accumulating rapidly in this country at the rate of a million young Americans a year, a residuum of disenchanted, frustrated, and, in many cases, alienated young adults who have found so little of value in the programs of their respective secondary schools that they do not deem it worth their time and effort to remain until completion of the school's formal program of education; they saw little to be gained by remaining in school and being compelled to participate further in the kinds of learning activities to which they had already been subjected.

Educators are well aware of the fact that not all of this million young people who drop out of our schools annually are necessarily embittered, alienated, or discontented youth. There are also other reasons why young people choose to discontinue their formal education at the secondary school level; nevertheless it would seem reasonable to assume that at least half of these young people must be considered as disillusioned and frustrated young people who at the time have little in the way of personal goals, who have no clearly envisioned career objectives for themselves, and who are ill-prepared to take their place in the adult society, either from the standpoint of occupational competency, adequacy for fulfilling the responsibilities of citizenship, or, most serious, of leading a self-fulfilling and satisfying personal life. We well know the tragic story of these young people. Numerous studies have repeatedly portrayed the plight of the drop-out.[2] In time, of course, many of these drop-out youths will establish themselves in at least some kind of occupation, usually, except in extraordinary circumstances, of a low status and will in fact marry and establish homes with families.

But the facts are that a large ratio of these school drop-outs at least for the early years after dropping out, do not establish themselves in our adult society, but become a part of a huge slag-heap of frustrated, alienated, rebellious, discontented young people. James B. Conant called the attention of the citizens of this nation to the situation as early as 1961 when he wrote in his study of education in large city schools, "Social dynamite is building up in our large cities in the form of unemployed out-of-school youth, especially in the Negro slums."[3] How dire and ill-boding a prophet he proved to be!

To correctly state the situation, however, we must recognize that the percentage of youth who remain in school until graduation has been steadily increasing in this country; in fact it has increased dramatically in the period since World War II and the evidence is that the graduation rate of young people is continuing to increase, although modestly in recent years. But even if it should increase to eighty per cent of the young, we educators must recognize that this pool of drop-outs will remain large—much too large; in fact the actual numbers, even if the drop-out rate should decline within the next decade to twenty per cent of all youth would actually constitute more young people than previously because of the rapid increase occurring in the total adolescent population of this country. And in any instance, even a quarter of a million, much less a half or three-quarters of a million of adolescents discarded on the slag-heap annually by our schools and other educational agencies is one of the most serious social, economic, political, and educational problems we face in the years ahead.

I remind you that when I graduated from high school in 1918 less than 25 per cent of my age group was completing the twelfth grade. We have succeeded in making secondary education quite generally universal throughout this nation of ours, but our problem now is not the physical one of establishing and operating schools available to youth throughout the land, but of providing the kind of a program that will be meaningful and significant enough to youth to justify their devotion of twelve years of study to the program.

And the seriousness of the problem we face now as a nation is compounded tremendously by the changes that have taken place in the economic, social, and occupational life of this nation. The boy or girl who did not complete high school in my day, even in our large urban cities, had no trouble at all in finding a challenging job suitable for a satisfying life career. And the drop-out youngster of that day readily established himself as a responsible, dependable, and economically competent member of the community. But times have changed, as I want to echo continuously, and the drop-out youth of today is hopelessly enmeshed in a social and economic situation that condemns him to a permanent career of welfarism or, at the best, to a very low standard of living. All around him he sees the sumptuous abundance that the very technology that has derived him of a challenging and meaningful job and an opportunity to establish himself as a respected citizen is making available to all of those who have met the requirements of society for entrance into the higher economic and social status of American life.

What Does Youth Want? It is not appropriate here, even if I were competent to do so, to discuss in broad sweep the forces that motivate adolescents, but it is necessary to consider briefly some of the factors that lead to disenchantment, frustration, or even alienation among our young adolescents, particularly those living in our urban cities and more especially the youth of minority groups. Abraham Maslow,[4] in a brilliant analysis of the basic needs of human beings, places two at the top of his list that are particularly significant in our consideration of the drop-out youth and his problems. These are esteem needs and the need for self-actualization.

Maslow insists that all people need a sense of adequacy, of achievement, of mastery and competence, of ability to face the world, and, secondly, a feeling of status, recognition, approval, attention, prestige, and appreciation. The satisfaction of these needs, he maintains, results in self competence, pride in one's accomplishments, a feeling of worthwhileness, a strength to face up to situations. Gratification of esteem needs comes through competency to cope with situations, ability to meet adequately day-by-day situations encountered in one's life and, primarily, in actual achievements and accomplishments that merit esteem by peers and those held in prestige by the individual.

But Maslow puts at the pinnacle of his list of human needs the need for self-actualization. He insists that man seeks self fulfillment, the desire to be what he is capable of being. He desires to make actual what he potentially could be. To fulfill this drive the young adolescent should have ample opportunity to give expression to his inner self, to use his latent capabilities and potentialities, to function fully as an adequate, self-directive and self-actualized individual. Maslow, then, points out that "the 'better' culture gratifies all basic human needs and permits self-actualization. The 'poorer' cultures do not. The same is true for education. To the extent that it fosters growth toward self-actualization, it is 'good' education."[5]

Moreover, the renowned scholars of human motivation as a result of their research and theorizing also add a great deal to this same general understanding of the drives and motives of young adolescents. Robert W. White[6] has postulated the concept of "competence motivation." He believes that human beings are strongly motivated to deal effectively with their environmental situations. The individual has a basic psychological impulsion to seek to deal competently with the environmental situations in which he finds himself.

David C. McCelland and his associates have propounded an "achievement" motive. They believe that "the child's achievement expectations arising from the mother's demands or elsewhere are the source of his achievement motivation, since his own actions will then interact with those expectations in ways which will yield a positive or negative effect."[7]

It is my contention that our disheartened, embittered, and defeated adolescents who drop out of school, and I hasten to point out again that not all drop-outs should be classified in this category, have not had ample opportunity in the secondary schools to establish themselves as self-actualized human beings who have developed a sufficient body of experience and sets of competencies to cope adequately with the environmental situations in which they find themselves. Moreover, the drive to achieve has never loomed large in their behavior, partly because the home situation has not cultivated this drive, for McCelland has well pointed out that this motive primarily springs from the family situation, and partly because the slum and poverty-stricken situation in which they find themselves is not conducive to achievement of the kind which is accepted and acclaimed by their peer group or the social group of the neighborhood generally.

These youths have not had a satisfactory and enthralling existence up to this point in their lives. School has been defeating, it has provided them few if any of the satisfactions that young people crave in their drive for competency, esteem, prestige, and status, particularly among their peer groups. Often this failure to achieve self-actualization is due in part at least to home, neighborhood, and family situations, but in many instances it certainly is the fault of the school in considerable part that the youngster has not established himself as a self directive, responsible, self achieving, self fulfilling young adolescent who has status and prestige among his fellow classmates at school. And even if the conditions that militate against self fulfillment lie outside of the school, the school usually has done little or anything to seek to overcome these environmental conditions or to fulfill the esteem and self fulfillment drives that the youngster has so devastatingly been denied elsewhere. Hence, he simply drops out of school when the law permits him to do so for he finds little of meaning or significance within its walls. He is unable to envision to any degree at all that remaining in school will assist him in any way in the fulfillment of his own personal needs or add satisfaction to his life either then or in the years ahead.

Possible Lines of Development in Salvaging Drop-out Youth. I am not so bold, of course, to assume that I can propose adequate and sound solutions to the problems of drop-out youths, but I do wish to suggest three lines of development that I feel offer promise in the solution of this major problem in youth education today.

Responsibilities of Local School System. As you will learn when I explain my three proposals, I am firmly convinced that major efforts to improve the program of youth education must remain a function of the local school system in each community. The school is the only agency in America today that is properly staffed and equipped, and that possesses the resources and prestige to make any significant contribution to the solution of the school drop-out problem.

We have tried other approaches for solution of limited aspects of the problem and in my opinion they have all had serious shortcomings and generally have failed rather miserably really to come to grips and deal effectively with the situation, especially when we consider the great mass of a million students who are dropping out of our secondary schools annually. For example, let us direct our attention very briefly to some of the programs established as a part of the Economic Opportunity Act, particularly through the Office of Economic Opportunity. We are all familiar with the Job Corp and with various other urban programs established and operated by non-school agencies. The miserable failure of all of these programs is now evident and it is my belief that whatever vestiges of these programs remain should be discarded immediately.

And in making such a judgment I am drawing primarily on the opinions of people who are in a position to evaluate them adequately. Dr. Kenneth Marshall, who, in cooperation with Dr. Kenneth Clark and Cyril Tyson, helped formulate the plan and establish the famous Haryou Program for the Harlem area of New York, in a statement about the Harlem youth project said that "none of it worked, and the 20 million dollars that went into the Haryou program has disappeared without a trace."[7] He added that the project "worked out so badly that I want no credit for fathering Haryou." He further commented that much of the anti-poverty program has given insufficient consideration to "how this country is really run politically and economically."

He said that as a result "the very poverty program put out in the name of the poor has been captured by the well-to-do." He continued equally severe in his condemnation of the Job Corps, saying that "we now have a Job Corps operating at a per capita cost of $12,000." But in spite of this per capita cost, he maintains that "the kids didn't get it. We know who got it." He continues, "much of the anti-poverty money has gone into the hands of privately run welfare agencies who now receive 90 per cent or more of the budgets from public funds."[8]

It is my opinion that the Job Corps has been an abject failure although vast sums of money have been spent on the relatively few youth enrolled in the program. Regardless of your reaction to the program, consider the fact that the Job Corps at its peak was only enrolling and providing some types of educational programs for less than fifty thousand young people, and that only 109,000 persons were served in any way by the Corps from its inception in 1965 to January, 1968,[9] a mere drop in the bucket among the million young adolescents who drop out of school annually. Yet we have spent hundreds of millions of dollars on an infinitesimal percentage of the total group that must be served if we are to salvage these young people in time to enable them to live decent, productive lives. We must immediately turn to some other agency and to some other approaches to the solution of this problem.

Similarly, I feel that most of the other extravagantly financed federal anti-poverty projects usually controlled by local community action groups have failed miserably to make any real inroads on the problem. The most successful of all of these programs is the Head Start program and that has largely been due to the fact that in most communities the local agency has had sense enough to turn over the establishment, administration, and instruction to the school system of the community. Similarly, in the final analysis, the schools and colleges have been responsible for other anti-poverty programs for youth that have had a reasonable measure of success, such as Upward Bound and other small projects of this kind.

Therefore, without any reservation and any compromise, the principal efforts to solve the problems of the school dropout must be turned right back to the very school system that caused the dropout problem in the first place. But obviously this will call for a whole new approach to education and for the establishment of new types of educational programs, new leadership, new insights, new understandings and a great deal of imagination and willingness to innovate and experiment.

Jobs for Youth. I propose that the schools establish programs that would provide meaningful and significant work for the potential dropout student or any student for whom the traditional program of the comprehensive school is not meaningful and significant though many of them are willing to continue to occupy a seat but mentally dropping out of school prior to the actual granting of the diploma. What the disillusioned and disheartened adolescent or young adult really needs is an opportunity to establish his status, to gain recognition among his peers, to feel the satisfaction of self-fulfilling activities that make sense to him that provides him with an opportunity to be a competent, achieving member of the community. He must be able to hold his head high with pride among his peers and among the older people—parents, relatives, friends—in the neighborhood in which he lives. He must achieve, he must cope competently with the world in which he lives.

One of the primary vehicles for achieving such status is to have money in the pocket; and the school must establish a thoroughgoing, comprehensive program that would assure these slum-dwelling and other other economically deprived youth of the opportunity to earn money in significant and challenging types of jobs. Work at a real, socially important job with carry home pay at the end of the week is much more important than a passing grade in American history, ninth grade English, or even industrial arts or physical education. The programs should be so designed that work on a job receives primary consideration over all academic and study considerations.

How to provide meaningful and significant work with full pay would need to be worked out. Adequate federal subsidies in the form of training grants or tax writeoffs for industries that could be induced to provide such work is essential. Smaller business establishments should work in close cooperation with the schools to provide work opportunities for potential dropouts in the neighborhood.

If business firms felt that these school designated youngsters did not merit the regular rate of pay, which, of course, should be maintained since we want no slave-labor types of programs, they should be given an outright subsidy for the wages to be paid. These potential dropouts would be identified by the school and would be certified for work. There must be close liaison between the school and each employer, and supervisory assistance and advice would be provided by the proper division of the school system's central administration.

School instruction in the early stages of any adolescent's enrollment in the school—industry work program would certainly be a very practical down-to-earth kind of instruction that would be geared directly to this job. English, and communicative and computational skills would be taught in direct relation to the things he does on the job. If at all possible to arrange, the job would make demands on the pupil that would stimulate and inspire him to improve his skills in these two areas. Improvement of reading skills would be incidental to success on the job and to the carrying out of his duties and responsibilities as an employee.

If this youngster does come to see meaning and significance in such a program of schooling, he could then be encouraged, and he probably himself would be motivated, to study additional courses in the comprehensive school program and, hopefully, decide to remain until graduation, particularly if the school system was willing to grant a diploma on the basis of these kinds of educational experiences. Moreover, for large numbers of these youngsters it would be hoped that they would be ready and would be interested in enrolling in post-secondary vocational and technical schools of various kinds, often on a part-time basis, while continuing work on the job.

Private businesses and public agencies of all kinds—government bureaus, schools, city departments, service companies, and, in fact, any employer—should be encouraged to accept one or more of these potential dropouts. However, if not enough jobs in regular types of private and public employment can be found, then I think that we must establish government-operated businesses and service agencies. These programs would probably be established by grants from the federal government but be operated under contract by a private business firm that may be established solely to give employment in meaningful work to potential high school dropouts.

Under this plan, unlike the Job Corps and some of the other programs that we have tried in the past, the adolescent would remain at home among his friends and peer group in the neighborhood; and it is from this very fact itself I believe that he would gain status and stature and obtain the esteem and prestige that all of us seek. In turn, such young people could serve as a peer model for other boys and girls in the neighborhood, who now have the model of the dropout youth who roams the street by day and prowls on innocent passers-by at night.

Socially we must provide a situation in which employment, the holding of a responsible job, the bringing home of a pay envelope, and the ability to buy your own clothing, to have some money to take your girl friend to the neighborhood movie, or to be able to buy a soda occasionally, is quite freely available. This is the only way in which we are going to save the potential dropout from the human slag-heap. This is the basis for satisfying his basic drives and motives and for enabling him to become truly a self-fulfilling person.

The American Youth Club. The plan I have just proposed is to reduce dropouts, hopefully to reduce it to the lowest minimum possible in years ahead, but this does not solve the problem for the huge pile-up of disillusioned youth we now have in our society who have already dropped out of school. A considerable portion of these students simply look forward as a matter of course to a perpetual life of welfarism until their dying days, spending their entire life in a slum type of existence that possesses little challenge or meaning for them

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personally. They simply exist and get whatever satisfaction out of life they can through association with people in similar circumstances in their immediate neighborhood.

My second proposal, therefore, is that we establish in our American cities, and in time in even smaller communities if this seems justified, what I choose to call American Youth Clubs. Again, these should be under the control and administration of the local school system, albeit, a new arm of the school system added specifically to the central administration for this purpose but correlated with and related to other aspects of the program for urban education.

The American Youth Clubs would be fine, new, pretentious, commodious, and attractive buildings located right in the most needy sections of our urban cities. They would be clubs that would provide any proper and legitimate kind of activity for young people.

Obviously, in light of the extremely sports-minded nature of the American people a large part of this facility would be devoted to games and sports of all kinds. But there would be facilities for social activities, such as dancing, and entertainment, and also snack bar and eating facilities; in addition, the club should have listening rooms for music, reading rooms, and game rooms, and facilities for hobby activities, shop work, music practice, ballet, or anything of this sort that a sufficient number of youths in that neighborhood would wish to undertake.

Obviously the club would have an adequate staff to supervise and sponsor its activities and to provide the kinds of programs in which a sufficient interest would emerge. The young people of the neighborhood themselves would participate actively in the government and the operation of the club and, insofar as they showed a sense of responsibility and the capabilities of self direction, in the organization and carrying out of the program. Through a youth council rules and regulations governing the use of the club and participation in activities would be established. The council would also develop plans for inter-team competition in sports and for many things of this sort.

What is suggested here is a social center for the young people of our urban cities. I never lived in the slum section of an urban city but what observation and casual contact I have had indicate that children and youth have few if any places to go for recreation, sports, and informal activities of any kind. True there are church and voluntary agencies of various kinds that provide programs throughout our cities but they can serve only a small proportion of our young pepole. The great majority are still left without any special center or organized recreational and developmental program of any kind.

The American Youth Club would simply serve this primary and basic purpose. There would be nothing compulsory about any of its activities or programs; it would have no new kind of legal control over the young people of the community except that it would bar from the club anyone who violated its rules of responsible conduct. Strenuous efforts would be made by those in charge to develop a neighborhood pride and to have the club regarded as a high-prestige place for young people. In fact, the daytime activities of the club would be for non-school adolescents and young adults. I think we would automatically have to draw an age limit for participation, such as 20 or 21 years of age, but otherwise there would be no requirement for participation except that of responsible behavior while in the club building.

I dream of the possibility that through such a club program a considerable number of young people who have already dropped out of school would again come to see meaning and purpose in life and voluntarily would seek out the quiet room for reading, the music room for listening, the practice room for music, the ballet room for dancing, the hobby shop or the handicrafts shop for constructive activities. Some of these young people possibly would in due time seek to enter formal educational institutions. Perhaps a part-time program could be worked out with the neighboring high school in which youngsters who ask for the privilege could be permitted, on a voluntary, uncommitted basis to take shop courses, enroll in any subject in which they were interested, or drop in at the school for a class period or more a day to take a course in reading, mathematics, or any subject.

Parent Involvement and Parent Education. The third part of my program for salvaging derelict youth is a greatly expanded program of parent involvement in what we typically call parent education, but not the traditional type found in our smug, middle-class school systems today. What I have in mind could be modelled in part on the extensive program at Flint, Michigan, but from my very limited knowledge of that program I feel that it is pitched at a much higher level than would be meaningful and purposeful to parents who live in the slums of our cities or socially eroded rural areas. But the general idea of that program—that the neighborhood school should serve as a center for the activities of all of the people of a particular neighborhood—is sound. Inasmuch as the family life of the child is the most significant single factor in his social, emotional, and intellectual development, the schools must develop programs in which they assist the parents in maintaining as high a quality of family life as is possible, even in a ramshackled slum apartment or a tumbled-down mountain shack. And there is no one now, except the usual social worker and some voluntary agencies that serve only a small proportion of these people, to help parents be more truly parents of the kind who can and will help their children become self-actualized individuals.

But again, the school is going to have to move out in completely new directions and formulate new kinds of programs if it is to serve in a meaningful manner the families residing in the poverty-stricken areas of city and county. At the outset it would of course be necessary to get the parents to the school building; hence, the school would need to develop the kinds of programs that would elicit the support and involvement of the people themselves. These programs should assist them with their everyday problems, give them an opportunity to talk over matters of practical concern that they face day-by-day, but gradually opportunities would be extended to include discussion of neighborhood problems and even to city, regional, state, national, and international problems that concerned and interested the participants. It always should be the parents' program and they should make the decisions about what they would want to do and what they want to talk about. Some might want to concern themselves with consumer matters, elementary mathematics, provisions of welfare programs or a host of everyday problems, but in time it is hoped that at least the more concerned and stimulated people of the neighborhood would become involved in the solution of neighborhood problems. If there are existing neighborhood voluntary agencies or social agencies of other kinds serving the people, then, of course, the total program should be coordinated and planned as one massive community effort.

Whenever a group of parents are interested and ready for such kinds of activities, attention should be given to the rearing of children and to the importance of parental support and the social, emotional, and intellectual climate desirable in the home. Many things that would help parents to work more effectively with their child and to provide the esteem and accord the status so necessary to young people should be provided in the school's community education program. But to repeat emphasis, the program should be the parents' program, involving them, being directed to their problems and interests, and offering opportunities for them to become more knowledgeable, more concerned, and more capable parents.

Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein insightfully discuss parent involvement and stress the need for participatory democracy by the urban dwellers, and especially by those living in slum areas. They propose school programs that would contribute to the achievement of this objective and that would upgrade the quality of the educational program for the disadvantaged.[10]

Edmund W. Gordon and Doxey A. Wilkerson of Yeshiva University in their new book on the education of the disadvantaged provide a good summary for some of the things I have advocated here:

> "Obviously, the answer to the dropout problem lies far back along the educational track—back in grammar school and kindergarten where the

> failures begin. But those who have passed through the system and have come—frustrated, embittered, demoralized, and uneducated—out the other end, the answer would seem to lie in somehow providing them with experiences in formal education and work from which they can gain both a sense of personal responsibility and a sense of personal success. The weakness of so many of the dropout programs that have tried to do just this is that they have been unable, through no fault of their own, to provide these youth meaningful work, for meaningful pay . . . It is entirely possible that a successful attack upon the problems of school dropouts and unemployable youth will require not so much a greater effort directed at these young people, but a greater effort at identifying for them and facilitating their assumption of roles in our society that have meaning."[13]

II. SCHOOLING FOR MORAL AND ETHICAL BEHAVIOR

That this is a period in the history of our nation of dissent, protest and rebellion, the flaunting of commonly accepted standards of moral behavior, and even the preaching of anarchism and nihilism is evident to everyone. The traditional values and standards of morality that have evolved through the long period of history of the western world, have been given expression by the common consensus of the teachings of typically middle class American people, and have been enforced by the social group that comprised the basic core of community life throughout America in the past are being questioned and, in fact, repudiated by many young people today. They are often aided and abetted in their questioning of social mores and institutions by writers, artists, and purveyors of public entertainment, who either seek simply to capitalize financially on this rejection of the past or who are convinced that the institutions of socialized America truly do repress the individual and prevent him from living his own true life in his own way and that they should aid in modifying the accepted American ethos. There is a conscientious self-examination of our institutionalized forms of life and of the institutions that our society itself has created to enhance and carry forward the necessary aspects of group living; there is also evidence of a great idealism which is not confined to the young people themselves but to all who protest against the emotionally, socially, and individually debilitating aspects of a highly technologically-computerized type of life that seems to be rapidly engulfing us.

The Essence of Moral Decay. But in its more extreme forms this rebellion against the institutions and organized aspects of social life is an anarchistic point of view that holds that the agencies, forms, and institutions of group living that have brought us to this stage of our history are now outmoded or artificial and must be smashed or at least radically simplified in order that each individual may be fully liberated and may fulfill to the maximum his primal human urges and capacities without having to be stifled, circumscribed, or subjected to controls by these very social agencies that make group living feasible and possible in the modern world.

Not only are social institutions, conventions, traditions, and mores themselves being called into question by social anarchists but the very fundamental principles of moral and ethical behavior that characterize the culture of our western civilization are being subjected to question and often overt rejection.

It is not only the concept of relativism in moral standards today—the assumption that the validity of every act of behavior should be judged only in relation to the intents, desires, and purposes of the persons themselves, that there are no moral standards except in relation to specific acts involving specific people and then only in relation to their own intents and desires—that is the matter of major concern in western civilization today; it is rather the widespread repudiation of the very moral standards and ethical principles that have guided the evolution of civilized man throughout his rise from primitivism and savagery. Professor Will Herberg, Graduate Professor of Philosophy and Culture at Drew University, states:

> I should say that the moral crisis of our time consists primarily not in the widespread violation of accepted moral standards—again I ask, when has any age been free of that?—but in the repudiation of those very moral standards themselves. And this, indeed, is our time's challenge to morality: not so much the all-too-frequent breakdown of a moral code, but the fact that today there seems to be no moral code to break down. . . . To violate moral standards while at the same time acknowledging their authority is one thing; to lose all sense of the moral claim, to repudiate all moral authority and every moral standard as such, is something far more serious.[12]

Are we as American people really moving to a new and more lofty level of moral behavior and ethical commitment, and in our struggle to do so making mistakes and having difficulty in evolving an accepted common morality, or are we on the verge of washing down the drain in one great orgy of personal pleasure, indulgence, and gratification the very principles, ideals, and commitments of our forefathers that guided us in building a nation of greatness, a nation that has believed in the supremacy of the individual, in this concept that fulfillment lies in the realization of the capabilities and potentialities of all human beings consistent with a conception of the common group morality that enables everyone to obtain also his full share of self fulfillment?

I am tremendously concerned about what I regard as a serious collapse in American morality, and I am not referring simply to standards of sexual morality although I think this in itself is symptomatic of the serious moral breakdown that is evident in many facets of our social and group life, but to the whole set of moral precepts of human conduct. I believe that the essence of happiness and the joys of living will slip from us as a society in the years ahead unless we adhere to the basic moral concepts that undergird civilized group life throughout the Western life.

The Schools' Responsibility. What can and what should schools do about the situation, assuming that something ought to be done about moral commitment? I am frank to say that I have little to offer in the way of proposals, plans, or programs for facing up to these basic issues and conditions of present-day American life. Most of our experience in developing formal programs of schooling, most of our innovations, most of our experimentation, and most of our research has really been concerned with only one facet of the educational process, the acquisition, synthesization, and utilization of knowledge.

Bloom, Krahtwohl, and the men associated with them have performed one of the most outstanding services of recent times for educators in preparing a basic taxonomy for the definition of the goals and aims of education. Educators everywhere are familiar with their definition of the three basic domains of educational objectives: the cognitive domain, the affective domain, and the psychomotor skill domain. These scholars, perhaps somewhat directly but largely inadvertly, point out the difficulties we face in educating pupils in moral behavior and in value development in several statements in the handbooks. "Much of our meeting time has been devoted to attempts at classifying objectives under this (affective) domain. It has been a difficult task which is still far from complete. Several problems make it so difficult. Objectives in this domain are not stated very precisely; and, in fact, teachers do not appear to be very clear about the learning experiences which are appropriate to these objectives. It is difficult to describe the behaviors appropriate to these objectives since the internal or covert feelings and emotions are as significant for this domain as are the overt behavioral manifestations. Then, too, our testing procedures for the affective domain are still in the most primitive stages."[13]

When this team did finally publish the handbook on the affective domain they gave us clues to the teaching of values, attitudes, and beliefs: "The evidence suggests that affective behaviors develop when appropriate learning experiences are provided for students much the same as cognitive behaviors develop from appropriate learning experiences . . . . If affective objectives and goals are to be realized they must be defined clearly; learning experiences to help the student develop is the desired direction must be provided; and there must be some systematic method for appraising the extent to which students grow in the desired ways."[14]

Moreover, these scholars point out what perhaps has plagued us in the past in attempting to teach values: "under some conditions the development of cognitive behaviors may actually destroy certain desired affective behaviors and that, instead of a positive relation between growth in cognitive and affective behavior, it is conceivable that there may be an inverse relation between growth in the two domains."[15]

As I have already stated, I have myself little to suggest in the development of the program for secondary schools that will reverse the present situation and elevate the education for values to the pinnacle of our efforts. But all educators must recognize that cognitive knowledge is in the long run of little service to man if he does not possess the traits of character and morality that enable him to utilize his knowledge for the good of mankind everywhere.

Certainly one of the major steps that we must take in the schools is to place much more emphasis on humaneness in education. This is a diffuse and undefined concept in education, but nevertheless, there are a large group of humanists today who are giving us some pertinent and significant guidelines to the nurture and capture of humaneness among children and youths. The humane person is one who is compassionate, who cares about other people and what happens to them, who has respect for human dignity above material considerations, who seeks for others the same self-fulfillment that he wants for himself, who is commited to the maximum implementation of the basic concepts and articles of democratic faith that have evolved over several centuries of cultural, political, and social development in this nation of ours, who wants for others the same joys and satisfactions in living that he himself seeks.

How a school can be a more humane school is not at all clear to any of us who are concerned with curriculum planning. Carl Rogers,[16] Abraham Maslow,[17] Arthur Combs,[18] Earl Kelly[19] Eli Bower and William Hollister,[20] and a set of speakers at a recent conference on the subject are some of the most insightful and visionary curriculum scholars who have given us some leads to possibilities in this aspect of schooling.

Based on the clues provided by Bloom, Krathwohl, and their associates, to build and foster commitment on the part of young adolescents schools first must define clearly what kinds of behavior constitutes the essence of morality and ethical conduct, and then, secondly, they must carry out the kinds of learning experiences that will provide young people ample opportunity to build and define for themselves the values, attitudes, beliefs, and commitments that guide such behavior. This means that the schools must have extensive sets of experiences for children in which they have opportunities to value, to define the kinds of values that should characterize human behavior, to live in accordance with these values in their school and out of school living, to discuss among themselves beliefs, attitudes, social conditions, and social problems that face our nation today, to explore every facet through inquiry and the methods of rational thinking, basic issues, problems, and the humaneness of life today for everyone.

Some of the well-planned and well-designed courses in the humanities now being developed in our schools, particularly in such schools as the Garden City, New York, Senior High School, University City, Missouri, Senior High School, and many others throughout the country, in which pupils have opportunities to study the basic concepts of humanistic thought and to discuss and explore thoroughly the pertinence and applicability of these principles to life today, are highly commended. But I think also that schools must provide much more extensive opportunity for children actually to commit themselves to live compassionately, to become concerned about the problems of people everywhere, and to be encouraged and helped in taking appropriate action to alleviate negative and degrading conditions that beset many of the people today.

Another aspect of schooling in the affective domain is concerned with the development of self-direction, self-discipline, initiative, self-directiveness, and responsibility. There are many ways in which school can foster these characteristics on the part of students. Some of the proposals for using the instructional methods of inquiry and discovery in school subjects may, if carried out in the true spirit of rational intelligence, have promise, but I am especially pleased with some of the things I see in American high schools today in programs of independent study, self-study projects, and self-directed activities. I believe that the most promising development that may result from the entire set of innovative projects being evolved under the general name of modular scheduling, variable grouping, and staff utilization in our most forward looking schools will be the programs in independent and self-directed study and research and laboratory experience for pupils. I fervently advocate that this type of program becomes an important part of the program of secondary education in the years ahead.

But there are many other things the school must do to develop compassion, commitment, and moral responsibility among adolescents. The possibilities of students working in community activities, of actually getting their hands dirty in the messy business of trying to improve inexcusable and inhumane living conditions in our ghetto areas is promising, although I recognize it would be very difficult to turn fifteen million American secondary school students loose in community activities at one time. Summer work camps of various kinds, volunteer work with child- and youth-serving agencies and with agencies concerned with welfare of disadvantaged people and, on the other hand, with the happiness of senior citizens (you can well see why I would be interested in this phase of it) are possibilities.

Experiences in living abroad are especially desirable activities for responsible and committed young people.

Although it involves only a limited number of young people, the Nebraska Human Resources Foundation has done a tremendous job in providing meaningful and significant experiences in human development for the participants.

In light of the fact that we educators have very little dependable and tested experiences or knowledge in the teaching of values and in developing programs that will contribute to the realization of the objectives of the affective domain, I will suggest in the third proposal that appropriate agencies in the United States set about immediately to carry on extensive research, development, and innovation in this area. It is my belief that in the years ahead the major focus of curriculum planning should be in the development of programs and projects for the teaching and the enhancement of the traits of character and personality that are necessary in achieving self actualizations for every person, and in insuring a life of satisfaction and meaning for all people.

III. RESEARCH: ESSENTIAL FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

In the years ahead it is my belief that relatively vast sums of money must be devoted to thoroughgoing, systematic, imaginative, and comprehensive research in the general area of education and schooling.

Research on Basic Curriculum Data Sources. A substantial part of these extensive research efforts should be devoted to the advancement of knowledge about the two basic data sources for all curriculum planning: the pupils to be educated; and the social values, mores, traditions, and beliefs to be inculcated, and the nature of social living for which schools are to prepare the young.

It is particularly essential that curriculum planners be provided with much more accurate, comprehensive, and definitive information on human motivation, the role of self-concepts and self-images, the basis for the formulation of aspirations, objectives, and goal expectations, the nature and character of human capabilities and potentialities, and the factors that shape human personality.

Similarly for the second data source, we must determine definitively what constitutes the basic beliefs and values of American people and what really is the essence of the democratic faith. We have not subjected adequately to research the conditions of social and group life that result in the greatest measure of self actualization and human satisfactions for each individual in a complex, industrialized, technological society. Moreover, this same requirement for accurate knowledge exists with respect to the individual himself. What are the conditions of individual development and of group living that would result in the greatest self fulfilling conditions of life in a society?

If we can determine these basic characteristics of social life itself, then we need to investigate the conditions that debase life, that militate against social and group fulfillment, that lead to anxiety, despair, frustration, hopelessness and social degredation.

Research on Programs of Schooling for the Achievement of Objectives. After the curriculum planner has valid information on these two fundamental factors in the educative process, he can define educational objectives properly and plan the types and character of school programs and other educational programs that hold the greatest promise for the attainment of these objectives by the young. But extensive research is then essential in the evaluation of the results of these educational efforts so as to determine the adequacy and sufficiency of the program.

Hence, it is obvious that research of all kinds is needed to determine not only the validity, pertinency, and relevancy of the objectives that we do define on the basis of our data about the two fundamental sources, but to investigate extensively all kinds of programs, plans, experiments, and social circumstances to ascertain their effectiveness in achieving these objectives for all children.

I have already alluded in the preceding section to the fact that educators have very little reliable knowledge on the influence of school programs on the development of personality, character, values, and mores, and hardly any at all on the kinds of educational experiences necessary to bring about desirable changes in the existing personal traits of individual children.

And finally educators must undertake innovation, experimentation, and venturesome and radically new approaches to the matter of schooling the young. But these programs, too, must eventually be subjected to the same kinds of thorough evaluation to ascertain their worth.

Sources for Research Funds. In spite of the greatly increased appropriations that have been made within the last ten years by the federal government for the support of research, vastly greater sums will be needed in the years ahead to carry out the types of fundamental research needed if schools are to move forward significantly in the development of the kinds of educational programs needed in this country in the years ahead. And it appears to me that there should be some redirection of existing research programs. But new types of research studies and support for studies in new areas of schooling are needed.

In addition to vastly expanded appropriations by the federal government each state department of education should also have available in its budget a sizeable amount of tax funds for research and evaluation. In the years ahead I believe that one of the most important divisions of any state department of education should be its research and evaluation division. Obviously this staff should work very closely with, if not be a part of, the curriculum development division of the department, but at the same time I would not want research and evaluation to be treated as it has been in the past, simply as an incidental, secondary matter, relegated to a minor position in educational planning throughout the state.

Moreover every school system of sufficient size should also have a division of research and evaluation that would be coordinated with or a part of the total program for curriculum and instructional planning. But again I would not want the program for research and evaluation to be secondary to any other aspect of educational planning.

A System of Educational Research Agencies. Research and evaluative agencies could be established and organized in a number of ways, but it seems to be that the example of agricultural experimentation and research could serve as a model in this respect. And I may add parenthetically that it is much more essential for the federal government to spend equal, if not greater, funds for research in the general area of education and schooling than it does in the area of agriculture.

A number of national institutes of research in human behavior and social values should be established. They should be funded completely by the federal government and staffed by the most competent people it is possible to employ, just as the great national experiment stations of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, located at a number of points throughout the nation, have been established.

But within each state there should be a research and evaluation institute operating much like the agriculture experiment stations associated with the land grant colleges now functioning. The state agency should be one that not only carries on its own research, experimentation, and evaluation but would be most directly available to advise and work with local school systems and the state department of education in carrying out the actual progress of evaluation and, in many instances, in conducting research that of necessity needs to be carried out in school and community situations. Obviously, state educational research and experiment stations should be related to and work closely with the College of Education of the state university, just as agricultural research is now a part of the college of agriculture in each state.

My parallelism, I hope, has made clear that I am in no way advocating that we superimpose over the local districts a new authority that would dictate the nature and character of their educational programs, but rather hold the same relation to school system as the national agricultural experimental stations and state experiment stations now hold to agriculture development in the state and on the farms. The primary difference would be that our test plots would not be farms, ranches, feeding lots, and breeding houses directly under the control of the experiment station, but would be schools, classrooms, neighborhoods, and any other type of activity or group where children and youths receive education and schooling. Obviously this would include the home, the church, and youth serving agencies.

It is going to be exceedingly hard in this country to tool up for the kind of educational research needed, but a start must be made and then the effort be moved forward as rapidly as possible. The tremendous accomplishments in agriculture did not come about overnight, the experiment station act was passed in 1887 and the related programs are more than fifty years old now. Agricultural research and development is obviously much easier to conduct than is research on human development and education, but we must get underway and move as rapidly as we possibly can to find better answers to the problems of schooling young people in this country of ours.

IV. Chemical Alteration of the Genes

Although I am not at all qualified to discuss the scientific aspects of gene and chromosome modification, I agree with biological scientists who assert that "one of the most remarkable achievements of man in the 20th century has been the development of our understanding of how our genes in those tiny human sperms and eggs that form the only living connection between one generation and the next, establish the nature and potentialities of each individual."[22] The knowledge the biological scientist has now discovered is of utmost importance for everyone, but particularly to teachers, for the upmost importance of these discoveries is stated by Glass: "With knowledge that has progressed from a few basic laws of the inheritance of genes known in 1900 to a complete picture today of the genetic code, man is now in almost full possession of the means to modify the hereditary nature of every plant and animal and microbe that he wishes."

"Indeed, there is nothing to prevent him from meddling with his own hereditary makeup. This staggering power over the nature of human evolution provokes a great crisis in human affairs—the crisis of values and goals, as I would like to call it. For the problem that faces us is not so much a problem of how to change man's nature as the problem of the kind of human being we wish to populate the earth."[23]

Dr. Joshua Lederberg, Chairman, Department of Genetics, Stanford University School of Medicine, supported this view in recent testimony before a Senate Committee: "The application of science to biology has reached near the fundamental secrets of life and whether it be 20 years or 200, we are still very close to the ultimate scientific revolution: the precise control of human development."[24]

We have already seen dramatic illustrations of the possibilities of chemically modifying the genes that determine the physiological, biological and intellectual nature of human beings. The horrifying affects of thalidomide on the physical development of the embryo is well known. Chemical control of the Rh factor is now a fully understood and commonly used medical practice as is counteraction of Phenylketonuria (PKU). And yet the tremendous impact of this knowledge in the prevention of mental retardation or even imbecility is a remarkable addition to man's control over human potentialities.

In this same connection some preliminary evidence now suggests that continued use of the psychedelic drugs—LSD—by pregnant women may have a highly damaging effect on the chromosomes that determine heredity. Obviously, there must be much more evidence on this subject before any final conclusions can be drawn, but the evidence should be startling enough to frighten any woman who is tempted to experiment with drugs of any kind.

Another aspect of this control of the development of the human being and the rearrangement of his physiological-biological characteristics is the medical science of fetology. Some amazing things have already been done in the surgical treatment of and research on fetuses of animals. The fetologists tell us that there are at least 1,000 different types of biological defects that account for nearly 250,000 babies a year in the United States who are born damaged. Blood transfusions are now given to anemic fetuses; semi-delivery of fetuses for tests, and performance of corrective operations or transfusions or medical treatment and other developments of this kind are practiced on animals. In the case of certain animals, scientists have removed the fetus as often as three times and performed operations or research procedures on it and then returned it to the womb, with normal birth resulting later.

The sum of even this brief and very modest review of some aspects of diomedics and fetology indicates the validity of the statements by Glass and Lederberg. What are the implications for education and schooling?

At this preliminary stage of the developments I believe even the wisest of us curriculum planners would be hard pressed to draw the implications, but my purpose in raising the issue is to alert the profession to the necessity of keeping abreast of these developments and then to be in a position to take whatever steps seem desirable in our educational programs to deal in a wise and foresightful manner with the situation.

Popularly some people have stated the situation as "Who should play God?" That is indeed one aspect of the question. Should anyone have the authority or the responsibility for changing the very physical, biological, and intellectual makeup of a fellow human being? And if the answer should be yes, years, perhaps decades, ahead, then we face the most serious of all ethical and educational problems—who should make such decisions, for what purposes, and on what grounds?

One immediate suggestion for action is that curriculum planners and educators should be alert enough to the tremendous and profound meanings of these discoveries and developments to include at appropriate places in the senior high school curriculum some information about the situation so that young people who will soon become parents have at least some reliable information about the possibilities of counteracting the impact of the Rh factor, the preventing of PKU, or the avoiding through vaccines German measles. We should should also teach high school age youth something about the highly detrimental and tragic affects of the unwise use of drugs, such as was the case in thalidomide, and now suggested in the case of the psychedelic and other closely related types of drugs. Certainly parent education courses in the schools, and these courses ought to be required courses for all high school students, should alert young people to what is already known and well established in this general field of biomedics.

Moreover, developments in this field suggest that the school should have a very thorough-going program of parent education for adults, in which they, too, could participate in a discussion and consideration of this whole field. Schools should be seeking out medical people and scientists who have an adequate knowledge of the field as instructors or lecturers in such courses. In light of their tremendous demands made on such people, perhaps some national agency, such as the National Institutes of Health or the U.S. Office of Education could video tape lectures by such people as Bently Glass and George Beadle, Rene Dubos, Joshua Lederberg, and others competent in this field for wide and extensive use in school and even college programs, and, particularly, in parent education classes and meetings. In my opinion it would be far more important at this time to provide the parents of the community with basic information about fetal development and the influence of drugs and chemicals on the chromosomes and genes, known methods of the prevention of deleterious mutations in heredity, and the like, than it is to conduct an adult evening course in upholstering, creative writing, Christmas gift wrapping, or some similar unimportant subject.

In this same connection I think it is high time that some agency or group in a position to do so invest whatever sum of money is necessary, and it might be quite large, to have these renowned scientists bring together in one volume the knowledge already known on this general subject so that educators could readily learn about developments without the necessity of exhaustive research through medical journals, research monographs, and similar publications of a highly specialized nature.

V. THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS FOR THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE FUTURE

The last issue in secondary education I wish to discuss is the education of teachers for secondary schools. This in itself is not directly a curriculum issue and yet of course the solution of all curriculum problems and issues is in the long run dependent on the character and competency of the professional educators that teach children in classrooms, administer schools, plan curriculums for pupils, and teach teachers how to teach and plan.

Teacher education throughout the country, even in the best of our educational institutions, such as the University of Nebraska, needs extensive upgrading and restructuring. We are still suffering unbelievable handicaps because of the old normal school conception of teacher education. To this day we have been unable to sloth off the horrible effects of this concept of the selection and preparation of teachers.

It is my belief that within the next decade the classroom teachers in secondary schools should have a minimum of six or seven years of formal educational preparation for fully certified professional status. And this should not be a slip-shod, patched up program of evening and Saturday courses, short term workshops, or inservice courses taught in late afternoon or evening in city school systems, but rather should be a completely integrated, fully planned and systematically developed program of education. In developing the kind of program envisioned I hope that we in the profession would thoroughly examine and analyze the strong and weak points of professional education in medicine, law, dentistry, engineering, architecture, and, perhaps, other professional programs of education from which we could gain insight. I do not recommend that we blindly imitate the education of doctors, for example, but rather that we first make a thorough analysis of the status, strengths, and weaknesses of the educational programs for other professions and then develop our own unique program in accordance with the special character of the profession of teaching.

Hence, I myself feel unqualified to describe in detail the nature of the program I envision, but at least I will take the liberty of sketching some broad outlines.

The First Level of Professional Preparation. I think the undergraduate program of baccalaureate study should be devoted principally to specialization in the academic content courses or disciplines of the subject area in which the teacher wishes to specialize and to some new and insightful approaches to what we designate as general education, but which I designate as a liberalizing education, and then in the senior year devote about a fourth of the student's program to the first level of a study in professional education.

For the liberal part of undergraduate education I certainly do not recommend the addition or even the retention of the typical college approach to this program in which the college simply prescribes a number of semester hours or specific courses that must be taken in certain academic subject areas. I think this is almost a total loss of time for graduates, particularly of our first-rate high schools, who are forced to devote most of their freshman and sophomore years to these general education courses.

Rather I envision these liberal education courses as being new types of interdisciplinary seminars or depth studies in seminar or discussion type classes of a specific field of study, sometimes designated as the "posthole" approach to liberal studies. The types of seminars and inter-disciplinary courses for freshmen and perhaps even for sophomores recommended by Professor Charles Muscantine and his Select Committee on Education at the University of California at Berkeley are highly endorsed.[25] Among many recommendations, this committee particularly urged the establishment at the University of California of (a) "new and stimulating 'breadth' courses, especially in the humanities and social sciences, which should not be considered uniquely as 'areas' belonging to specialists";[26] of (b) integrated and problem oriented freshman seminars which "should consist of groups of no more than twelve students, taught by members of the faculty in whatever areas of intellectual discourse a faculty member is inclined to meet with entering students. The subject matter of all such seminars need not be strictly determined as long as the orientation is one of dialogue and the spirit of inquiry. Each faculty member offering a freshman seminar would act as academic adviser to the seminar students";[27] and (c) an extensive program of field study, independent study, and honors programs.[28]

The teacher-in-preparation would of course pursue studies in depth in his chosen academic subject matter field of specialization. Again, he should not be subjected throughout his four years of undergraduate study to the typical systematic course in a discipline or subject area, but should at advanced levels have ample opportunity for independent study, field investigations, studies in depth, preparation of undergraduate type thesis or research papers, and the like.

But in his senior year I would recommend that the student take his first courses in professional education. These, again, should be courses that provide a broad sweep of educational thought, development, philosophy, and history so that students would gain a thorough understanding of the purposes, aims, objectives, functions, and character and nature of the schools in which he is to spend his career.

In the fifth year he should devote at least half of his program of studies to professional education. The other half of his time should be devoted to advanced studies in his subject matter field, these courses clearly being at an advanced level and giving him opportunity to work as a neophyte scholar in that field.

In the professional courses he should spend a great deal of time in observation of school practice in many different situations, particularly spending as much time as feasibly could be arranged in ghettos and slum areas and in urban school situations, but if he has been reared in that kind of an atmosphere, then in turn in smaller communities. This professional part of the program would be somewhat of an apprenticeship, quite comparable to the program for upper level medical students in the first hospital and clinical experience they have in medical education. The education students would meet in seminars throughout this period in which instructors from various areas of specialization and education would lead discussion at a profound level of discourse on the programs of education, the problems encountered in schooling, and on pupils and their motivations, capabilities, and problems.

The sixth year would be spent entirely as an internship in schools, but the candidate would not devote full time to teaching or school responsibilities. He should spend the equivalent of about two-thirds of a normal week actually in the schools and the central office. But he would also have ample time for seminars, which would be conducted by both people from the University campus and from the school and other community agencies, that would be devoted to the problems of teaching and schooling. I see this sixth year as somewhat comparable to the internship of the medical student. At the end of this internship the person would be certified as a full-fledged teacher.

Advanced Levels of Professional Study. At advanced levels of specialization, a program similar to a residency as now used in medical education should be established. This residency could be spent in what I envision as Centers for Professional Study in Education. These Centers could be of many kinds, and their nature and character would vary according to the type of specialization provided. But in all instances they should bring together in a consortium or other cooperative arrangement the people, staff, and facilities that would be necessary to provide outstanding programs of advanced study.

The centers proposed for research and evaluation, discussed previously, for example, could provide advanced training and opportunities for study for persons interested in these fields of specialization. But centers for the advanced education of school administration would be of a different type; those for teachers of subjects still another type; and thusly for various fields of specialization in teaching, administration, counseling, curriculum planning, evaluation, research, and the like. These centers would have adequate physical facilities of their own, but of course they would have close working relationships or actually be a part of educational institutions, just as a doctor in a residency ties together his work in a clinic or a hospital with formal instruction and clinical study in his field of his specialization.

Moreover, arrangements would need to be made by the centers whereby these specialists could return for refresher courses periodically, say at least a month of study each five years.

Visionary? Perhaps for Nebraska and many schools in the Great Plains states, but I think not beyond possibility within the next decade or two. I know of one school system that has a top salary of $17,000 annually for classroom teachers and a considerable number of schools systems in the United States now list the top salary for teachers in the neighborhood of $15,000. Certainly school systems that are willing to pay that kind of money for professional service demand the highest possible level of professional competency on the part of teachers and it is high time that we in colleges of education set about to design programs to prepare the kinds of teachers for which those schools are willing to pay.

Perhaps for a decade or so we will have two programs of preparation for secondary teachers; an extension, refinement, and improvement of the present undergraduate program, with a master's degree added voluntarily on the part of the teacher who takes the prescribed number of semester hours and certain prescribed types of courses; and on the other hand a parallel, six-year program for those people who are willing to devote this much time to prepare for initial certification.

V. WHAT OUGHT TO BE SHOULD BE

Obviously, to anyone engaged in the profession of education, this has not been a thorough analysis of the problems and issues that face us in secondary education, but rather a presentation of some points of view about only five aspects of secondary education, but ones which I believe constitute the most troublesome issues and cry most urgently for solution at the present time. I am certain that my ideas on the solution of these problems have weaknesses and are sketchy and inadequate, but what I hope I have done in this paper is at least to challenge the members of our profession to set about diligently to seek solutions to these problems. I do not want to be dramatic here, but I do think one of the most exciting and challenging statements attributed to the late Senator Robert Kennedy is the one stated by Edward Kennedy in his eulogy at the funeral service in St. Patrick's Cathedral, on June 15, 1968. "I dream things that never were and ask, why not?"

FOOTNOTES

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3. James B. Conant, *Slums and Suburbs*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961, p. 146.

4. Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1954), Chapter five.

5. Abraham H. Maslow, "Some Basic Propositions of a Growth and Self-Actualization Psychology," *Perceiving, Behaving, Becoming*, Yearbook 1962, Arthur W. Combs, Chr., Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1962, p. 46.

6. Robert W. White, "Motivation Reconsidered: The Concept of Competence." *Psychological Review* 66:297–333 (September, 1959).

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18. Arthur W. Combs. "Humanizing Education: The Person in the Process." *Humanizing Education: The Person in the Process, op. cit.*, pp. 73–88.

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21. J. Galen Saylor and Norman K. Hamilton (eds.). "Humanizing the Secondary School." Washington, D. C.: The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, In press.

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23. *Ibid.*, page 11.

24. Committee on Government Operations, Sub Committee on Government Research, U.S. Senate. *Research in the Service of Man*. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 17.

25. Select Committee on Education, Charles Muscantine, Chairman. *Education at Berkeley*. Berkeley, Calif.: Regents of the University of California, 1966.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 125–126.